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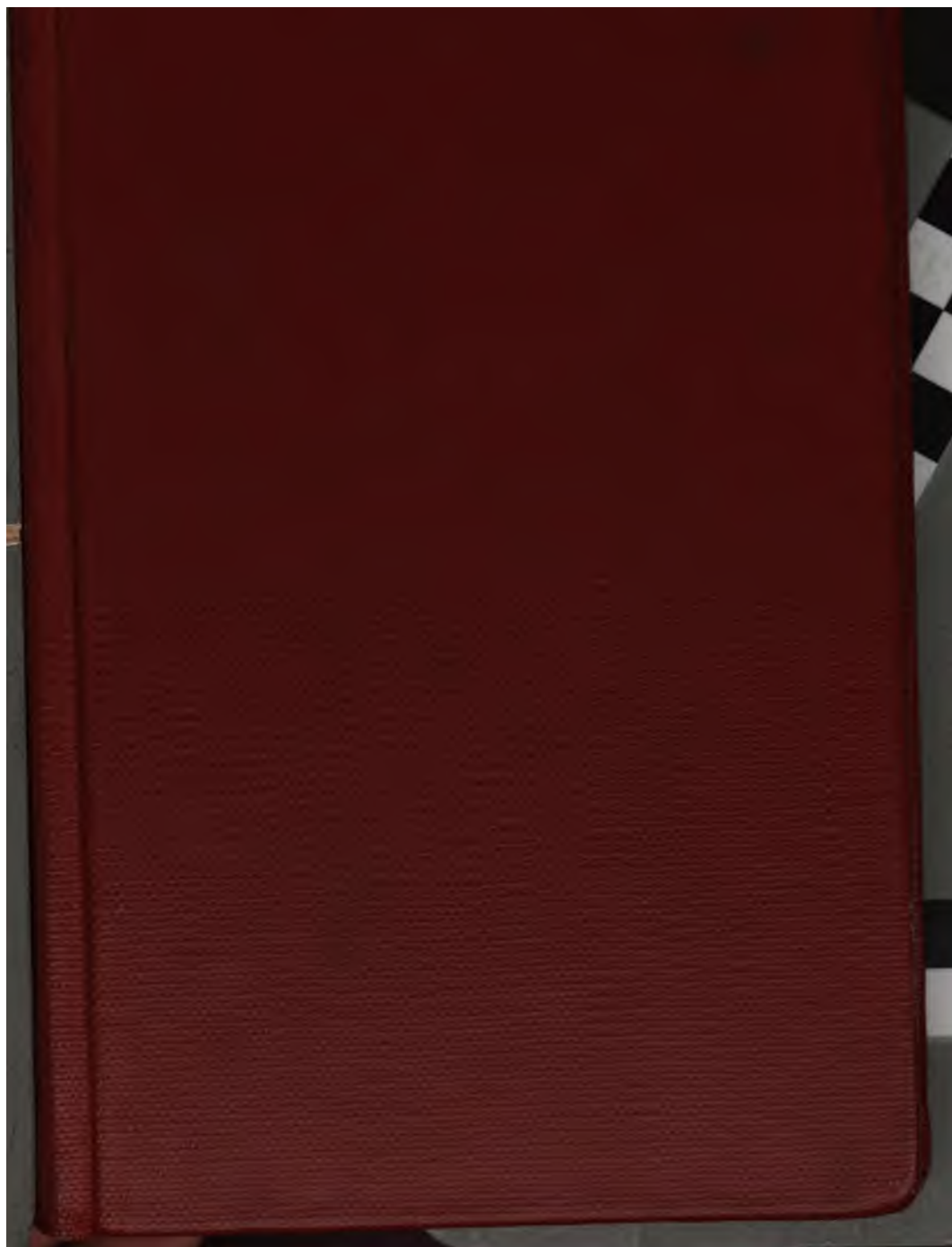
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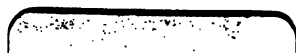
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Heath's Modern Language Series

AN INTRODUCTION
TO
VULGAR LATIN

BY
C. H. GRANDGENT
PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS
BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO

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PREFACE.

WHILE this book is intended primarily for students of Romance Philology, it will, I hope, be of some interest to Classical scholars as well. Although it has been long in the making, I have endeavored to keep it, at every stage, abreast of current scholarship. I have tried, furthermore, to treat all portions of the subject, not exhaustively, but with even fulness; I fear, however, that the Syntax — perhaps unavoidably — is somewhat scanty as compared with the other parts. It will be seen that I have continually furnished abundant references for the guidance of those who wish to look further into special topics. My principal authorities are listed in the Bibliography; others are cited in the appropriate places in the text.

C. H. GRANDGENT.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGES
MAPS	x, xi
THE ROMAN EMPIRE	x
THE NEO-LATIN TERRITORY IN EUROPE	xi
BIBLIOGRAPHY, WITH ABBREVIATIONS	xiii-xvi
PHONETIC ALPHABET AND OTHER SYMBOLS	xvii
INTRODUCTION	1-5
VOCABULARY	6-29
WORDS AND THEIR MEANINGS	6-12
<i>Words used alike in Classic and in Vulgar Latin</i>	6
<i>Words used differently in Classic and in Vulgar Latin</i>	7-8
Sense Restricted	7
Sense Extended	7-8
<i>Words used in Classic but not in Vulgar Latin</i>	8-9
Synonyms	9
Substitutes	9-10
Particles	10
<i>Words used in Vulgar but not in Classic Latin</i>	10-12
Native Words	11-12
Foreign Words	12
DERIVATION	13-29
<i>Post-Verbal Nouns</i>	13
<i>Prefixes</i>	13-16
Prefixes used with Nouns, Adjectives, and Pronouns	13-14
Prefixes used with Verbs	14-16
<i>Suffixes</i>	16-28
Suffixes for Verbs	16-17
Suffixes for Nouns	18-23
Suffixes for Adjectives	23-25
Suffixes for Adverbs	25-26
Change of Suffix	27-28

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

v

	PAGES
<i>Compounds</i>	28-29
Nouns	28
Adjectives	28
Pronouns	28
Verbs	28
Adverbs	28-29
Prepositions	29
Conjunctions	29
SYNTAX	30-59
ORDER OF WORDS	30-32
USE OF WORDS	32-41
<i>Nouns and Adjectives</i>	32-34
Comparison	33
Numerals	33-34
<i>Pronouns</i>	34-38
Personal and Possessive Pronouns	34
Demonstratives	35-36
Interrogatives and Relatives	36-37
Indefinite Pronouns	37-38
<i>Verbs</i>	38
<i>Adverbs</i>	38-39
<i>Prepositions</i>	39-41
<i>Conjunctions</i>	41
USE OF INFLECTIONS	42-59
<i>Cases</i>	42-48
Locative	42-43
Vocative	43
Genitive	43-44
Dative	44-45
Ablative	45-47
Accusative	48
Fall of Declension	48
<i>Verb-Forms</i>	48
Impersonal Parts	48-51
<i>Supine</i>	48-49
<i>Gerund</i>	49
<i>Gerundive</i>	49
<i>Future Active Participle</i>	49

	PAGES
<i>Present Participle</i>	50
<i>Perfect Participle</i>	50
<i>Infinitive</i>	50-51
Voice	51-52
Mood	52-54
<i>Imperative</i>	52
<i>Subjunctive</i>	52-54
Tense	54-59
<i>The Perfect Tenses</i>	54-56
<i>Future and Conditional</i>	56-59
PHONOLOGY	60-143
SYLLABICATION	60-61
ACCENT	61-68
<i>Primary Stress</i>	61-66
Vowels in Hiatus	61-62
Compound Verbs	62-63
<i>Ilac, Illic</i>	63
<i>Ficatum</i>	63
Numerals	64
Greek Words	64-66
<i>Greek Oxytones</i>	64
<i>Greek Paroxytones</i>	64-65
<i>Greek Proparoxytones</i>	65-66
Other Foreign Words	66
<i>Secondary Stress</i>	66-67
<i>Unstressed Words</i>	67-68
QUANTITY	68-77
<i>Position</i>	68-70
<i>Vowel Quantity</i>	71-77
Vowels in Hiatus	72-73
Lengthening before Consonants	73-75
Disappearance of the Old Quantity	75-76
Development of a New Quantity	76-77
VOWELS	77-104
Greek Vowels	78-82
<i>Accented Vowels</i>	82-91
Single Vowels	82-87
<i>a</i>	82-83

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

vii

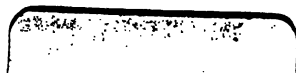
	PAGES
<i>ē</i>	83-84
<i>ĕ</i>	84
<i>ī</i>	84
<i>ĭ</i>	84-85
<i>ō</i>	85-86
<i>ŏ</i>	86
<i>ū</i>	86-87
<i>ŭ</i>	87
Diphthongs	88-90
<i>æ</i>	88-89
<i>au</i>	89-90
<i>eu</i>	90
<i>æ</i>	90
<i>ui</i>	90
Influence of Labials	91
Clerical Latin	91
<i>Unaccented Vowels</i>	91-104
Unaccented Vowels in Hiatus	93-96
Initial Syllable	96-98
Intertonic Syllable	98-99
Penult	99-102
Final Syllable	102-104
CONSONANTS	104-143
<i>Latin Consonants</i>	106-137
Aspirate	106-107
Gutturals	107-114
<i>C and G before Front Vowels</i>	109-112
<i>C and G before Back Vowels</i>	112
<i>C and G Final and before Consonants</i>	112-114
Palatals	114-118
Dentals	118-121
Liquids	121-124
<i>L</i>	121-123
<i>R</i>	123-124
Sibilants	124-126
Nasals	127-132
Labials	132-137
<i>P</i>	132-133

	PAGES
<i>B</i>	133-135
<i>F</i>	135
<i>V</i>	135-137
<i>U</i>	137
<i>Greek Consonants</i>	137-141
<i>B, Γ, Δ</i>	138
<i>K, Π, Τ</i>	138
<i>Θ, Φ, Χ</i>	138-139
<i>Liquids, Nasals, and Sibilants</i>	140
<i>Z</i>	140-141
<i>Germanic Consonants</i>	141-143
MORPHOLOGY	144-187
NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES	144-161
<i>Gender</i>	144-147
<i>Masculine and Feminine</i>	144
<i>Masculine and Neuter</i>	145-146
<i>Feminine and Neuter</i>	146-147
<i>Declension of Nouns</i>	147-156
<i>First Declension</i>	149-151
<i>Second Declension</i>	151-152
<i>Third Declension</i>	152-156
<i>Loss of Declension</i>	156
<i>Declension of Adjectives</i>	157-158
<i>Comparison</i>	158-159
<i>Numerals</i>	159-161
PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES	161-165
<i>Personal Pronouns</i>	161-162
<i>Possessives</i>	162-163
<i>Demonstratives</i>	163-164
<i>Interrogative and Relative Pronouns</i>	165
<i>Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives</i>	165
VERBS	166-187
<i>The Four Conjugations</i>	166-170
<i>First Conjugation</i>	166-167
<i>Second Conjugation</i>	167
<i>Third Conjugation</i>	167-170
<i>Fourth Conjugation</i>	170
<i>Fundamental Changes in Inflection</i>	170-173

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ix

	PAGES
<i>Inchoative Verbs</i>	173-174
<i>Present Stems</i>	174-176
<i>Imperfect</i>	176-177
<i>Perfect</i>	177-182
Weak Perfects	177-180
Strong Perfects	180-182
<i>Pluperfect and Future Perfect</i>	183
<i>Perfect Participle</i>	183-185
<i>Personal Endings</i>	186-187
DEX	189-219



• **Prevalence** is the proportion of people in a population who have a disease at a particular point in time. It is a snapshot of the disease burden in a population at a specific moment. It is calculated as the number of people with the disease divided by the total population.

• **Incidence** is the number of new cases of a disease that occur in a population over a specific period of time. It measures the rate at which new cases are occurring. It is calculated as the number of new cases divided by the population at risk over the time period.

• **Prevalence** is the sum of all existing cases (both new and old) at a particular point in time. It is a measure of the total burden of a disease in a population.

• **Incidence** is the rate at which new cases are occurring. It is a measure of the risk of developing a disease.

• **Prevalence** is a measure of the burden of a disease in a population at a particular point in time. It is a snapshot of the disease burden.

• **Incidence** is a measure of the rate at which new cases are occurring. It is a measure of the risk of developing a disease.



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Works to which only occasional reference is made are cited in full in the text.

PHONETIC ALPHABET

AND OTHER SYMBOLS.

β = bilabial *v*, the sound of Spanish *v* and *b*.

θ = the sound of *th* in English *this*.

ə = the sound of *e* in French *me*.

η = the sound of *ng* in English *long*.

ö = rounded *e*, the sound of German *ö*.

p = the sound of *th* in English *thin*.

ü = rounded *i*, the sound of German *ü*.

x = the sound of *ch* in German *ach*.

• (a dot) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is close.

˘ (a hook) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is open.

ˆ (a semicircle) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is not syllabic.

ˈ (an acute accent) after a consonant letter shows that the consonant is palatal.

* (an asterisk) before a word shows that the form is conjectural, not attested.

> indicates derivation, the *source* standing at the *open* end of the figure, whichever way it be turned.

SMALL CAPITALS mean that the forms so printed occur in inscriptions (but this indication is used only when for some special reason it seems desirable).

The other marks and abbreviations employed are so generally accepted as to need no explanation.



AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN.

1. The extent of the Roman Empire is shown by the map on p. x. Throughout this territory the official language was Latin, originally the speech of Latium, a little district on the Tiber. The Latin tongue was thus extended to many peoples, representing different races, civilizations, and linguistic habits. In central Italy it was adopted by Etruscans and by various Italic tribes, in northern Italy by Ligurians, Celts, and Illyrians, in southeastern and southwestern Italy respectively by Illyrians and Greeks; beyond the peninsula it spread among Iberians, Ligurians, Celts, Aquitanians, Semites, Germanic tribes, and others still. The Latinization of these peoples was the work of several centuries¹: by 272 B. C. all Italy was subdued south of the Macra and the Rubicon; Sicily became a province in 241, Sardinia and Corsica in 238; Venetia cast her lot with Rome in 215; Spain was made a province in 197; Illyria was absorbed after 167, Africa after the fall of Carthage in 146, southern Gaul in 120; the Cimbri and Teutones were destroyed in 102-1; northern Gaul was a province in 50, Rætia in 15; Dacia was colonized in 107 A. D., forsaken in the third century, and quite cut off from the rest of the Latin-speaking world in the sixth. The Latin language never gained a foothold in Greece; political changes drove it from Great Britain, the Orient, and Africa; in the rest of the Empire it has remained, for the most part,

¹ See Mohl, *Chronologie*; also Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.*, pp. 451-455.

until the present day, and has been carried thence to America, Africa, and Asia. The map on p. xi marks the parts of Europe where Latin in its modern forms is now spoken.

2. The Latin tongue, like every living language, has always been in an unstable condition. The evidence of inscriptions and of grammarians indicates that from the beginning to the end of Roman history speech was constantly changing, the alteration being most rapid in the earliest and the latest periods. Furthermore, there were at all times, but especially before the Social War, considerable local divergences. The Latin-speaking peoples were not homogeneous, and their speech reflected their varied origin. In Italy the language of Latium was adopted by tribes using, in the main, kindred languages. At first there was sturdy resistance; until the conflict of 90-89 B. C. all southern Italy was under Oscan influence, and Oscan was used in inscriptions until the first century of our era.¹ When Latin conquered, it blended more or less with the native idioms; the resulting geographical discrepancies are manifest in early monuments. The Social War, however, had a levelling effect, and speech in Italy became more uniform; but there doubtless were still noticeable differences in pronunciation and even in vocabulary.² In the outlying provinces, and to some degree in the peninsula, Latin was simply substituted for foreign tongues, and there was little or no mixture; nevertheless a few native words were kept, and there must have been a variety of accent. It should be remembered, moreover, that the language carried

¹ See *Chronologie* 133 and 116-120. Oscan forms are *ligud* for *lège*, *pru* for *pro*, *ni* for *nē*, etc.

² The S. Italian *nn* for *nd*, *i* for *ē*, and *u* for *ō* may be Oscan. *Pomex*, *ēlex* for *pūmex*, *īlex* are perhaps Umbrian: *Lat. Spr.* 445, 464. The Italian word *savore* is possibly Etruscan: *Chronologie* 98-99.

to the several provinces was not identical: it represented different chronological stages and different local dialects of Italic Latin; the earlier acquisitions received a more popular, the later colonies a more official speech. Administration and military service tended to obliterate distinctions; under the Empire the variations probably came to be no greater than those now to be found in the English of the British Empire. We may say in general that the Roman territory, excepting Greece and the East, was completely Latinized by the fourth century after Christ.

3. With the beginnings of culture and literature there came inevitably a divergence between the language of the upper and that of the lower classes, and also between city and country speech. Literary influence is conservative and refining, while popular usage tends to quick change. In late Republican and early Imperial times educated speech became highly artificial, drawing away from the everyday language; on the other hand, the common idiom, throughout the Republic and the Empire, was constantly developing away from the archaic standard of elegant parlance.¹ What we call Vulgar Latin is the speech of the middle classes, as it grew out of early Classic Latin. It is not an independent offshoot of Old Latin: it continues the Classic, not the primitive, vowel system.² Neither is it the dialect of the slums or of the fields: grammarians tell us of not a few urban and rustic vulgarisms that are not perpetuated in the Romance tongues. It is distinct from the consciously polite utterance of cultivated society, from the brogue of the country, and from the slang of the lowest quarters of the city, though affected by all of these.³ Vulgar Latin naturally developed differently in

¹ Cf. J. Marouzeau, *Notes sur la fixation du latin classique* in *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XVII, 266.

² Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 463-464. ³ Cf. Cooper XV-XXX; W. Konjetzny in *Archiv* XX, 297.

various localities, as far as the levelling influence of school and army permitted; the universal inclination of language to diverge was reinforced by the original habits of the diverse speakers and by such peculiarities of native accent as had survived.¹ The differentiation progressed, being accelerated when schools decayed and military was replaced by ecclesiastical organization, until the dialects of distant localities became mutually unintelligible. At this point we may say that Vulgar Latin stops and the Romance languages begin. Although any definite date must be arbitrary, we may put it, roughly speaking, in the sixth or seventh century of our era. The Vulgar Latin period lasts, then, from about 200 B. C. to about 600 A. D.; it is most sharply differentiated from Classic Latin in the last few centuries of this epoch.²

4. If we compare Classic and Vulgar Latin, we shall see that the latter was always tending to become more flexible and more explicit. We note an enormous development of modifying and determining words, such as articles and prepositions, and an abundant use of prefixes and suffixes. We find also a great simplification of inflections, due partly to phonetic but mainly to syntactic causes. Furthermore, we observe certain changes in pronunciation, some of which can be ascribed to an inclination to discard those parts of words that are not necessary for their identification (as when *viridis*, *vetulus* become *viridis*, *veclus*), some to a tendency to assimilate unlike adjacent sounds (so *ipse* is spoken *isse*, and the diphthong *ai* is reduced to *e*), some to a desire for differentiation (which lowers *i* to *e* to make it more remote from *i*), some to unknown reasons. Why, for instance, *ai* almost

¹ Cf. Sittl and Hammer; Pirson and Carnoy; also, for African Latin, B. Kübler in *Archiv* VIII, 161.

² For a history of the Latin language, see *Lat. Spr.* 492-497.

universally became *e*, while *au* did not in Latin generally become *o*, is a problem as yet unsolved.

5. Our sources of information¹ concerning the current spoken Latin are: the statements of grammarians²; the non-Classic forms occurring in inscriptions and early manuscripts³; the occasional lapses in cultivated authors, early and late; a few texts written by persons of scanty education; some glossaries and lists of incorrect forms; and, most important of all, the subsequent developments of the Romance languages.⁴ All of these are to be used with caution. Of especial value are the *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, a considerable fragment of a description of travel in the East, by an uneducated woman (probably a Spanish nun) of the latter part of the fourth century⁵; the *Appendix Probi*, a list of good and bad forms, possibly as early as the third century⁶; the veterinary treatise known as *Mulomedicina Chironis*⁷; the so-called *Glossary of Reichenau*, made in France in the eighth century.⁸ There is an interesting collection of curses by A. Audolent, — *Defixionum Tabellæ*, 1904.

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.* 455-461; G. Gröber, *Sprachquellen und Wortquellen des lateinischen Wörterbuchs* in *Archiv* I, 35.

² Utilized by E. Seelmann, *Aussprache des Latein*, 1885. For a brief account of the Latin grammarians, see Stolz, 55-67.

³ Used by H. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, 1866-68. For papyri see Travaglio. For coins see M. Prou in *Mélanges de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offerts à M. Maurice Wilmette*, 1910, 523. This volume contains on p. 485 *Pamphlets bas-latins du VII^e siècle* by J. Pirson.

⁴ For the chronology of developments, the distinction of learned and popular words, and the establishment of unattested Vulgar Latin words, see G. Gröber, in *Archiv* I, 204 ff., and VII, 25 ff. Something can be learned from the charters and laws of the barbarians: cf. F. Schramm, *Sprachliches zur Lex Salica*, 1911.

⁵ See Bibliography: Bechtel and Per.; note E. Wölflin, *Ueber die Latinität der Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* in *Archiv* IV, 259.

⁶ See W. Herzäus, *Die Appendix Probi*, 1899, *Zur Appendix Probi* in *Archiv* XI, 61, *Die Appendix Probi* in *Archiv* XI, 301; G. Paris in *Mélanges Renier* 301, *Mélanges Boissier* 5; W. Förster in *Wiener Studien* XIV, 278.

⁷ See Bibliography; E. Lommatzsch, *Zur Mulomedicina Chironis* in *Archiv* XII, 401, 551, and W. Herzäus, *Zur Sprache der Mulomedicina Chironis* in *Archiv* XIV, 119.

⁸ See Bibliography.

I. VOCABULARY.¹

A. WORDS AND THEIR MEANINGS.

6. It is natural that the speech of the literary and fashionable classes should differ from that of the common people; so it is in all civilized communities. Literature inclines to extend the senses of words, popular use tends to restrict them. The polite language, too, has many poetic figures and many abstract terms unknown to the crowd. On the other hand, the vulgar idiom has homely metaphors of its own and numerous specific, technical words not found in literature.

1. WORDS USED ALIKE IN CLASSIC AND VULGAR LATIN.

7. This class includes a great mass of words, forming, so to speak, the nucleus of the language. Examples are: *canis, filius, mater, panis, pater, puleus, vacca; altus, bonus, longus, viridis; amare, audire, dicere, vendere; bene, male; quando, si; in.*

¹ See A. Hatzfeld, A. Darmesteter, and A. Thomas, *Dictionnaire général de la langue française*, II, *Traité de la formation de la langue française*; Densusianni, 185-203; W. Heraeus, *Die römische Soldatensprache* in *Archiv* XII, 255, *Die Sprache der römischen Kinderstube* in *Archiv* XIII, 149; J. G. Kempf, *Romanorum sermo castrensis qui sit quibusque e fontibus quaque via ac ratione eius reliquia hauriantur* in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. XXVI, 342. For an approximately complete vocabulary, reconstructed out of Romance words, see G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, 1907. For a thorough discussion of reconstructed forms, see G. Gröber, *Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter* in *Archiv*: I, 233 ff. (*abbreviare* — *buttis*), 539 ff. (*caccubus* — *curbus*); II, 100 ff. (*damnum* — *dui*), 276 ff. (*eber* — *fiticum*), 424 ff. (*flagrare* — *gutta*); III, 138 ff. (*hædus* — *ilicem*), 264 ff. (*ille* — *lamma*), 507 ff. (*lacusta* — *mille*); IV, 116 ff. (*minaciæ* — *nutrire*), 422 ff. (*obedire* — *putidus*); V, 125 ff. (*quadraginta* — *rasculare*), 234 ff. (*reburrus* — *runcare*), 453 ff. (*sabanum* — *suus*); VI, 117 ff. (*tabanus* — *sirulare*), 377 ff. (supplement.)

2. WORDS USED DIFFERENTLY IN CLASSIC AND IN VULGAR LATIN.

8. Very many Classic words are used in Vulgar Latin with a different sense: *comparare* = 'buy', *focus* = 'fire', *paganus* = 'pagan', *viaticum* = 'journey'. *Capit* assumed the meaning of *feri potest*: R. 351-352, *non capit prophetam perire*, etc.; Hoppe 48, *hæc æstimare non capit, non capit utique videri Deus*.

Most of the examples can be classified under the heads of restriction or extension of meaning.

a. SENSE RESTRICTED.

9. This happens frequently, a word assuming a more definite or concrete signification: *cognatus* = 'brother-in-law'; *collocare* = 'put to bed' (*se collocare* = 'go to bed', Bon. 286); *dominicus* = *divinus*; *ingenium* = 'trick', Bon. 283; *lectio* = 'text'; *machinari* = 'grind'; *mulier* = 'wife'; *necare* = 'drown', Bon. 286, Dubois 220; *orbis* = 'blind'; *tractatus* = 'treatise'.

Many words kept their literal but lost their metaphorical sense: *captio* = 'act of taking', G. 243, not 'sophism' nor 'deceit'; *robur* = 'oak', not 'strength', 'authority', nor 'best part'.

b. SENSE EXTENDED.¹

10. The general use of a word in an extended sense is not common, but there are some examples: *fortis* = 'strong' in all senses, Bayard 105; *infans* = 'child', Pirson 257-258; *parentes* = 'relatives', Pirson 260-262; *se plicare* = 'go', Per. 46, 11, etc.; *villa* = 'town', G. 272.

Many words, however, assume a new meaning in addition to the old one: *ambulare* = 'march', Archiv XII, 269-270, Bechtel 137, etc., and also 'continue', Regnier 24, perhaps

¹ Cf. Bayard 63-202, Bon. 235-328, Dubois 185-225, Quillacq 54-79.

'go'; *facere* = 'pass (time)', Regnier 27 (*quadraginta dies fecit*), *Per.* 66, 11 (*fecimus ibi biduum*), etc.; *fascia* means a measure of land, Pirson 255; *habet* is used like the French *il y a* (Old French *a*), G. 422 (*in arca Noe . . . habuit serpentes*), Regnier 29 (*in carne paucas habet virgines sanctimoniales*), Bechtel 127 (*habebat de eo loco forsitan quattuor milia*, etc.), *Per.* 37, 13, etc.; *homo* has the sense of French *on*, Regnier 20, Dubois 218; *ille* = 'the' and 'he', Bechtel 144, Bon. 258 ff.; *populus minutus* = 'common people', Waters Ch. 44; *replicare* = 'reply', Dubois, 204; *res* is used of persons, Waters Ch. 58 (*bella res*); *satis* = 'much', Bayard 83, *Per.* 38, 25, etc.; *unus* = 'a', Bechtel 144; *virtutes* = 'miracles' (in imitation of the Greek), Bayard 94.

So various prepositions and conjunctions (as *ad*, *apud*, *cum*, *de*, *per*, and *quasi*, *quia*, *quod*, *quomodo*) assumed new functions. *Unde* came to mean 'and so', Bon. 328.

3. WORDS USED IN CLASSIC BUT NOT IN VULGAR LATIN.

II. Numerous Classic Latin words either were not employed at all in the vulgar speech or went out of use before the earliest monuments of the Romance languages: so *funus*, *jubere*, *proles*. Very many adverbs and conjunctions disappeared: *an*, *at*, *autem*, *diu*, *donec*, *enim*, *ergo*, *etiam*, *haud*, *igitur*, *ita*, *nam*, *postquam*, *quidem*, *quin*, *quippe*, *quoad*, *quoque*, *saltem*, *sed*, *sive*, *ut*, *utrum*, *vel*, etc.; *tamen* must have been moribund, although it is common in the *Peregrinatio*. Poetic terms and some abstract nouns were not needed: *aurora*, *frondifer*, *horrescere*, *fletus*. Ecclesiastical Latin, to be sure, is very rich in abstract nouns (G. 391-397, Dubois 301-308), but most of them are new formations. When lost terms were needed for literary or other purposes, they were either bor-

rowed from Classic or clerical Latin (as *nobilis*) or replaced by new constructions (as **carrica* for *onus*).

a. SYNONYMS.

12. When Latin had two words nearly synonymous, one often crowded out the other: *atrium* gave way to *cors*; *cur* to *quare*; *equus* to *caballus*, R. 472; *ferre* to *portare*, Dubois 220; *ludus* to *jocus*; *magnus* to *grandis*; *os* to *bucca*, R. 472; *parentes* to *genitores*, Olcott XXV; *senex* to *vetulus*.

Sometimes the survivor was far from a synonym in Classic Latin: *discere* was displaced by *apprendere*; *domus* by *casa*, *mansio*, *hospitale*¹; *emere* by *comparare*; *humerus* by *spatula*, R. 324; *ignis* by *focus*, R. 313; *nunc* by *hora*; *omnes* by *toti*, R. 338, Zs. XXXIII, 143; *quot*, *tot* by *quanti*, *tanti*, R. 336, 337; *urbs* by *civitas*, Dubois 209, and by *villa*, G. 272.

b. SUBSTITUTES.

13. Sometimes a term was replaced by a word not found in Classic Latin at all: *anser* was driven out by **auca* (< **avica*, diminutive of *avis*); *noverca* by **matraster*; *privignus* by **filiaster*; *vitricus* mostly by *patraster*. Occasionally the substitute was apparently a slang word: *aliquis* yielded in part to *res nata*, R. 345; *caput* to *testa*²; *crus* gave way to *gamba*; *edere* in the main to *manducare*, Bechtel 140; *gena* to *gabata*.

Some words were replaced by diminutives, some nouns by derivative adjectives: *avis* by *aucellus*; *avus* by **aviolus*; *sol*

¹ According to Olcott XVIII, *casa* occurs only in Italian inscriptions, *mansio* (= 'dwelling') only in Roman. For *mansio*, cf. R. 472, Dubois 212. Among the Romance languages, Rumanian, Rætian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese prefer *casa*, French and Provençal *mansio* and *hospitale*. Cf. Zauner 41-42.

² *Caput* (or rather **capum*) is preserved by Rumanian, Rætian, Italian, Provençal, French; *testa* by Italian, Provençal, French; **capitia* (< *caput*) by Spanish and Portuguese. Cf. Zauner 41-42.

in part by **soliculus*; *vetus* for most part by *vetulus*; *dies* largely by *diurnus*, *Gl. Reich.*; *hiems* by *hibernum*, R. 472; *mane* extensively by *matutinum*. Diminutives were extremely common in late Latin: G. 121-130 (*cereolus*, *schedula*, etc.), Olcott 250-263 (*gemelli*, *mammula* = 'grandmother', *naucella*, *neptilla*, etc.), Dubois 147 (*novellus*). Adjectives used as nouns were frequent also: R. 100-107 (*arida*, *infernus*, etc.), G. 108-121 (*brevis*, *credens*, *infernus*, etc.).

Occasionally, too, words were replaced by phrases: *diu* by *longum tempus* (Bon. 201, *paucum tempus* for *haud diu*); *ver* by *vernum tempus*, Bon. 203, and other phrases.

C. PARTICLES.

14. Many prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs were lost by substitution.

Ab was made unnecessary by *de* and *per*; *apud* was partially supplanted by *ad*; *cum*, in Gaul, yielded to *apud*; *ex* gave way to *de*, R. 395-396; *ob* to *pro* and *per*. *Pro*, doubtless under the influence of *per*, became **por*, which replaced *per* and *pro* in Spain and to a considerable extent in northern Gaul; southern Gaul, Italy, and Dacia preferred *per*. *Cis*, *erga*, *præ*, *propter* were displaced by other words.

The functions of *an*, *ne*, *utrum* were assumed by *si*; the place of *cum* was taken by *quando* and other conjunctions; *quando*, *quod*, *quoniam* were often replaced by *quomodo*, R. 403. *Autem*, *ergo*, *etiam*, *etsi*, *igitur*, *sed*, *tamen*, *ut* were ousted by various substitutes. Cf. Densusianu, 184-185.

4. WORDS USED IN VULGAR BUT NOT IN CLASSIC LATIN.

15. Vulgar Latin evidently had many words that do not appear in Classic texts. Some of these were probably old

native terms that do not happen to occur in the works preserved, some were late creations, some were borrowed from other languages.

a. NATIVE WORDS.

16. Some native words are rarely attested, although they were doubtless in common use: *amma*, *Archiv* XIII, 154; *atta*, *Archiv* XIII, 154; *baro* = 'athlete', Waters Ch. 53, Ch. 63; *battalia*, *Archiv* XII, 270-271; *brānca*, Densusianu 196; *circare* = 'hunt', *Archiv* VIII, 186; *cloppus*, Densusianu 196; *drappus*, *Substrate* II, 106, Körtling (found in the 6th century); *ficatum*, Densusianu 190; *gavia* (used by Pliny); *mamma*, *Archiv* XIII, 151-152; *nonna*, *nonnus*, *Archiv* XIII, 156-157; *pa(ϕ)pa*, *Archiv* XIII, 158, Bayard 179 (applied by St. Cyprian to the bishop of Carthage); *pappus* = 'grandfather', Pirson 243; *serutinus*, Audollent 199; *tata*, *tatus*, Pirson 244, *Archiv* XIII, 151-153; *trepalium*, *Rom.* XVII, 421.

17. A few that must have existed are not attested at all: **refusare*, *Substrate* V, 234; **retina* = 'rein', *Substrate* V, 237; so not improbably the original of the Romance words meaning 'touch', and perhaps those of the words meaning 'find', 'gape', and 'go' (cf. § 405). Likewise words made by onomatopœa, as **miaulare*; cf. M. Grammont, *Onomatopées et mots expressifs* in *Revue des langues romanes* XLIV, 97.

Some of the unattested words were obviously late developments: **finis*, adj. (Fr., Pr. *fin*; It. *fine fino*), from the noun *finis* in such phrases as *honorum finis*, *pudoris finis*, etc. (so, e. g., *finis honoris* > *fins onors*, etc.), E. Herzog in *Bausteine* 484; **gentis*, adj. (Fr., Pr. *gent*, It. *gente*), apparently a cross between *genitus* and *gentilis*; *prode*, then m. and f. **prodis*, adj., detached from *prodest* (cf. *potis est* = *potest*, Neue II, 176-177), R. 468-469 (*quid enim prode est homini, sed non fuit prode illis, hoc enim prode fit vobis*, etc.).

18. Late Latin was rich in derivatives, some of popular creation, some made by Christian writers. According to Olcott XIX, African Latin was freest in word formation. This subject will be discussed at length in the following chapter, but a few examples may be given here: post-verbal *dolus* < *dolere*, Regnier VIII; **abbellire*; **ausare*; *carricare*, *Gl. Reich.*; *confessor* = 'martyr'; **coraticum*; *dulcor*, **dulcior* = 'sweetness'; *follla*; **man(u)aria*; *modernus*, Dubois 144; **nivicare*; **soliculus*; *vict(u)alia*; **vir(i)dura*.

b. FOREIGN WORDS.

19. A few Celtic terms were adopted, such as *alauda*, *vertragus*. More Germanic words (cf. *Gram.*, Introduction) found their way into Latin: *bannus*, Bon. 226; *hapja*; *haribergum*, *Gl. Reich.* (cf. *alberca*, Pirson 236); *haunjan*; *watan*; *wërra*.

We find a large number of Greek words, a few of them apparently borrowed by popular speech: *amygdalum*; *cata*, a distributive preposition, verging on the sense of 'every', R. 247 (*cata mane mane*), Bechtel 95 (*cata mansiones*, *cata pascha*), cf. § 71; *colaphus*; *dactylus*, Bon. 211; *sagma*. More came in through the Christian vocabulary: *angelus*; *baptizare*; *blasphemare*; etc. Some were introduced by fashionable society, which affected familiarity with Greek; there are many Greek words in Petronius: *hepatia*, Waters Ch. 66; *schema*, Waters Ch. 44.

Very many Greek terms used by ecclesiastical writers never became popular. Cf. G. 205-226: *anathema*, *prophetare*, *zelare*; numerous verbs in *-izare*, as *allegorizare*, *anathematizare*, *catechizare*, *colaphizare*, *evangelizare*, *eunuchizare*, *Judaizare*, *prophetizare*, *sabbatizare*, *scandalizare*, *thesaurizare*; and not a few new derivatives, as *baptizatio*, *diaconissa*, G. 225, 224.

B. DERIVATION.

20. Vulgar Latin is very rich in derivatives and compounds; it has many affectionate diminutives, some of them made with new suffixes (as *-icca*, *-itta*).¹ Petronius shows a fondness for long derivatives, such as *gaudimonium* (Waters Ch. 61). Late writings almost all abound in abstract nouns (Cooper 1-2). In strictly Classic texts there seem to be few really living suffixes²; but the facility of word formation, which the literary language lost, popular speech preserved and increased.³ This freedom of formation was abused by African authors, who were especially addicted to prepositional compounds with *con-*, *in-*, *sub-*, etc.⁴ We shall consider first post-verbal nouns (i.e., substantives taken from the roots of verbs), then prefixes, next suffixes, and finally composite words.

1. POST-VERBAL NOUNS.

21. After the model of *cantus*—*cantare*, *saltus*—*saltare*, etc. (pairs in which the derivative verb seemed to come from the noun, whereas in reality both come from a primitive verb, as *canere*, *salire*), a fictitious primitive noun was derived from a number of verbs in Vulgar Latin and in the Romance languages: so *dolus* from *dolere*, *Vok.* I, 35, 98, *Bon.* 367, *Regnier VII* (blamed by St. Augustine).

2. PREFIXES.⁵

a. PREFIXES USED WITH NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, AND PRONOUNS.

22. *Bis-* or *bi-* was used with some adjectives and apparently with a few nouns: *bimaritus*, *G.* 130; *bisacutus*, *G.* 170; *bisaccium*, *Petronius*.

¹ See *Gram.* II, 430-693; *Densusianu* 156-173.

² Cooper XXXIV.

³ Cooper XXX ff.

⁴ Cooper XXXVI, XLVI, 246-247.

⁵ Cooper 246-297.

23. *Ad-*, *con-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *ex-*, *in-*, *re-* and some others were occasionally used to form adjectives: **adaptus*; *commixtus*, G. 160; *defamatus*; **disfactus*; *exsūcus*; *inanimatus*; **replēnus*. Cf. G. 160 ff.

24. *Ac-*, *atque-*, *ecce-*, *eccu-*, *met-* were used as demonstrative prefixes to pronominal adjectives and to adverbs. *Eccu-* is *eccum*, i.e., *ecce huius*; its origin being forgotten, it was used in late Vulgar Latin as a synonym of *ecce*. *Met-*, primarily a suffix, came to be used as a prefix through such combinations as *semet ipsum*, understood as *se metipsum*. In archaic writings such reinforced demonstratives as *eccum*, *eccam*, *eccos*, *eccas*, *ecca*, *eccillum*, *eccillam*, *eccillud*, *eccistam* are not uncommon; in Classic texts they are rare. Vulgar Latin examples are: *ac sic*; *atque ille*; *ecce hic*; **eccu iste*; **eccu sic*, *Substrate* VI, 385; *met ipse*. Cf. A. Köhler, *Die Partikel ecce in Archiv* V, 16. See §§ 65, 66.

b. PREFIXES USED WITH VERBS.

25. *Ad-*, *con-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *ex-*, *in-*, *re-* were freely used, *dis-* being mainly a Vulgar Latin prefix: *abbreviare*, G. 179; **adcap(i)tare*; *adgenuculari*, R. 181; *adpretiare*, R. 181, G. 180; *adpropiare*, R. 181, G. 180; *adunare*, R. 182; *confortare*, R. 185; G. 181; **cominitiare*; *complacere*, R. 184; *deaurare*, G. 182; **disjejunare*; *exaltare*, G. 183; *excoriare*, G. 182; *impinguare*, G. 183; **infurcare*; *recapitulare*, G. 185; **requerere*. *Ad-*, *con-*, *de-* lost their special significance; *ad-* was particularly favored in Spain, *con-* in Italy. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 487. Occasionally there was a change of prefix: *aspectare* was used with the sense of *expectare*, **convitare* sometimes took the place of *invitare*; *dis-* was often substituted for *ex-*.

26. *Ab-*, *contra-*, *per-*, *sub-*, *super* *supra-*, *tra* *trans-* were

used occasionally: **aboculare*; **contrafacere*; **perdonare*; **subaudire*, G. 185; **subcludere*; **subsannare*, R. 199, G. 187; **superabundare*, G. 187; **super*-**suprafacere*; **trabuccare*; **transannare*; **transplantare*, G. 188.

27. *Extra*- was sometimes used in Italy and Dacia, *infra*- and *intra*- in Italy: **extrabuccare*; **infraponere*; **intra tenere*.

28. *Abs*-, *e*-, *ob*-, *præ*-, *pre*-, *pro*-, *retro*- were apparently not used to form new verbs in the popular spoken language, although some of them are occasionally so employed by late writers: **opprobrire*, G. 184; **prædestinare*, G. 184 (cf. Livy); **prolongare*, G. 184. *Ob*- is sometimes replaced by *ad*-.: *obdormire* > *addormire*.

29. *Foris* and *minus* came to be used as prefixes in some regions: **forisfacere*; **minuscredere*. *Foris* was confounded in Gaul with the Frankish *fir*- (= *ver*-): *verslahen* = Old Fr. *forbatre*. See G. Baist, *Fränkisches fir- im ältesten Französischen* in *Romanische Forschungen* XII, 650; cf. *Rom.* XXX, 633. For this use of *minus*, compare the phrase *minus est* = *deest*, Regnier 109: *caritas in quantum adest . . . in quantum autem minus est*. Cf. § 245.

30. Some verbs take a double prefix: *adimplere*; *coexcitare*, R. 207 (cf. Quintilian, *coexercitatus*); *deexcitare*, R. 207; **deexcitare*; **exeligere*.

31. Recomposition, i.e., the restoration of the full form of the primitive verb, was a regular process in Vulgar Latin (cf. § 139): *aspargo* for *aspergo* is blamed by Velius Longus, Édon 127, and is used by St. Cyprian, Bayard 3; *commando* is, according to Velius Longus, the usual form, rather than *commendo*, S. 60, Édon 131; *consacrati* etc. occur in inscriptions, S. 60; *crededit*, Bon. 490; *reddedit*, Bon. 490; *retenere*, Bon. 489;

tradedit, Bon. 490. Cf. S. 58–64, Bon. 486–493. *Cómpūto*, *cólligo*, *cóllōco*, *cónsto*, *cónsūo*, *érigo*, *éxco*, *ínflo*, *præsto* seem to have been regarded as simple verbs: S. 64.

32. Late writers were in the habit of restoring the full, primitive form of prefixes; but this was doubtless merely a matter of spelling, and did not indicate the common pronunciation. In Tertullian, Cyprian, and some others there is generally no assimilation of the prefix; other writers, such as Gregory of Tours, apparently used both assimilated and unassimilated forms. Bayard 12–15: *adpetere*, *conpendium*, *inprobus*, *obfero*, *subplanto*. Bon. 178–188: *adtonitus*, *conmittere*, *inlatus*, *obprimere*, *subcumbere*.

3. SUFFIXES.

a. SUFFIXES FOR VERBS.¹

33. Verbs *from nouns*² generally end in *-are*; occasionally in *-iare* or *-ire*; sometimes in *-icare*, which was eventually supplanted in Italy and in Gaul by *-izare* (for pronunciation see § 339). This last ending came from Greek *-ίζω* through borrowed words, such as *baptizare*. For a list of Greek verbs in *-ίζω* adopted by Christian writers, see R. 248–249 (cf. § 19 above); some new formations were used, as *catechizare*. In early Latin this same ending appears as *-issare* (*atticisso*, *rhetorisso*): see A. Funck, *Die Verba auf issare und izare* in *Archiv* III, 398.

Examples: *oculare*; *pectinare*; *plantare*; *potionare*; * *trepariare*; — *plagiare*; — *ignire*; — *carricare*; *follicare*; * *nivicare*; — * *dom'nizare*; * *werrizare*.

¹Cf. Cooper 205–245, Dubois 151–162, Quillacq 41–46, Bonnet 471–474.

²Cf. R. 154–162.

34. Verbs from adjectives and perfect participles end in *-are*, *-iare*, *-ire*; also in *-icare* (cf. *albicare*), *-itare* (cf. *debilitare*, *visitare*), *-escere* and *-iscere* (cf. *canescere*, *mollescere*); possibly in *-izare*: *angustare*; **ausare*; *captivare*; *confortare*; *falsare*; *gravare*; *levare*; **oblitare*; *rūtare*; *ūsare*; — *alleviare*; **altiare*; **captiare*; *humiliare*; — **abbellire*; *unire*; — *amari-care*; — **vanitare*; — *fortescere*; *lætiscere*; *vilescere*; — **blan-kizare*?

Many verbs from perfect participles (frequentatives, etc.) replace the original verbs: *adjuvare* > *adjutare*; *audere* > *ausare*; *canere* > *cantare*; *uti* > *usare*. The endings *-(i)tare*, *-escere* lost their frequentative or inchoative sense: *adparescere*, Dubois 157; *ostentare*, Dubois 156.

35. Verbs from other verbs end in *-icare* (cf. *fodicare* < *fodere*), *-itare* (cf. *clamitare* < *clamare*); also in *-escere*, *-iscere* (cf. *florescere*, *dormiscere*), which lost its inchoative force: **bullicare* < *bullire*; — *crocitare*; — *apparescere*; **finiscere*; *stupescere*. Vulgar Latin has many old frequentive verbs: G. 178–179, Cooper 205. There are some late diminutives in *-aculare*, *-iculare*, *-ūculare*, through diminutive nouns or adjectives (cf. *periculari* < *periculum*): **salticulare*. We find also some miscellaneous imitative formations: **expaventare* (and some others) apparently after the analogy of *præsentare*; **misculare* perhaps after *maculare*.

36. Greek verbs in *-ân*, *-eiv*, etc., when taken into Latin, regularly end in *-are*: *κυβερνᾶν* > *gubernare*; *βλασφημεῖν* > *blasphemare*. Cf. Claussen 795. But *ψάλλειν* > *psallere*, perhaps through the analogy of *fallere*: Claussen 796.

Germanic verbs in *-an* or *-on* regularly passed into the first conjugation in Latin: *witan* > It. *guidare*; *roubôn* > It. *rubare*. Those in *-jan* went into the fourth: *hatjan* > *hatire*, Gl. Reich.; *warnjan* > It. *guarnire*.

b. SUFFIXES FOR NOUNS.¹

37. Some 90 endings, apparently, were used in Vulgar Latin. The Christian writers are especially rich in derivatives. Petronius, too, was very fond of diminutives: *adulescentulus*, Waters Ch. 59, Ch. 64; *porcellus*, Ch. 40; *taurellus*, Ch. 39.

The commonest endings are the following: —

—*a*, used to form feminines: *nepta*, Pirson 123, Bon. 366, Haag 41; *socera*, Bon. 355.

—*āgo*, —*igo*, —*ūgo* were characteristic of rustic speech: Cooper 111.

—*al*, —*āle*, used to form adjectives and also nouns, especially names of parts of apparel (as *bracchiale*), was extended: *coxale*, G. 95. Cf. Olcott 238–239.

—*alia*, a neuter plural, as *victualia* (cf. the collective plural —*ilia*, as *mirabilia*, *volatilia*, G. 110–111), was used, in a collective sense, as a feminine singular with an augmentative and pejorative signification, in Italy and Gaul: **canalia* < *canis*.

—*anda*, —*enda*, neuter plural of the gerundive, came to be used as a feminine singular: **facienda* and **facenda*.

—*ans*, —*ens*: see Adjectives.

—*antia*, —*entia*, made from present participles + —*ia* (as *benevolentia*, *essentia*, *significantia*), were used to form abstract nouns from verbs: **credentia*; *fragrantia*; *placencia*; **sperantia*. Cf. R. 49–52, G. 79–102, Olcott 73–78.

—*dnus*: see Adjectives.

—*ar*, —*āre*, for nouns and adjectives: *liminare*, G. 95; **pollicare*. Cf. Olcott 187–189.

—*aria*: see —*ia*.

—*arium*, used to designate a place (as *gallinarium*), was extended: *braviarium*; **calamarium*. Cf. R. 31–37, Olcott 176–182.

—*arius*: see Adjectives.

—*aster*: see *Modern Language Notes* XXIV, 240.

—*ata*: see —*ta*, etc.

[*cum*.

—*atūcum* (as *viaticum*) was extended, to form nouns from nouns: **corati*—*ātus*, as *senatus* (common in Petronius, e. g., *bonatus*, Waters Ch. 74), was extended: *clericatus*; **ducatus*. Cf. —*ta*, etc.

¹ Cf. Cooper 1–91, Dubols 99–136, Quillacq 15–31, Bon. 453–463.

-cellus, diminutive, was used beside -culus: *avicula*, *avicella*; *navicula*, *navicella*. So **domnicellus*, etc.

-ceus, -cius: see Adjectives.

-culum, -crum (as *miraculum*, *lavacrum*) were occasionally used: **genuculum*. Cf. G. 91-92, Olcott 131-134.

-ellus, diminutive (as *castellum*), was often used beside -ulus, which lost its diminutive force: *anulus*, *anellus*; *porculus*, *porcellus*; *vitulus*, *vitellus*. So *calamellus*, etc.

-enda: see -anda.

-ens: see Adjectives, -ans.

-ensis: see Adjectives.

-entia: see -antia.

-erium, as *desiderium*, was probably somewhat extended: Old Fr., Pr. *consirier*, etc. Cf. R. 31-37. See A. Thomas, *Les substantifs en -ier et le suffixe -arius*, *Rom.* XXXI, 481; and *Nouveaux essais de philologie française* 110.

-eum: see -ium.

-eus: see Adjectives.

-ia, unaccented, used to form abstract nouns (as *victoria*), was extended: **fortia* (cf. *fortia* n. pl. = 'mighty deeds of God', Koffman 76).

-ia, unaccented, used to form feminines (as *avus*, *avia*): *neptia*, *Pirson* 123 (cf. *Zs.* XXXII, 640).

-ia, from Greek -ia through Christian writers and speakers: *monarchia*; *philosophia*; etc. It was often attached to words in -arius; hence an ending -aria: **libraria*. Cf. Olcott 173-176.

-ica: see *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* CXIV, 457.

-icca (as *Bodicca*, *Bonica*, *Karica*) first appears in Africa in feminine proper names; it was then extended to Spain, Sardinia, and Dacia, and came to be used as a diminutive suffix in Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian: Sp. *animalico*; Rum. *manică*. It may have arisen in the first place from a childish pronunciation of -iclus, -icla, being used in pet names. Cf. *Einf.* § 173. For -accus, -iccus, -occus, -uc(c)us, see A. Hornig in *Zs.* XIX, 170, XX, 335; cf. *Gram.* II, 591. Cf. *Zs.* XXXIV, 26.

-iceus, -icius: see Adjectives, -ceus.

-incus or -inquus (as *propinquus*), perhaps also *-ingus and locally -ancus, possibly of Ligurian origin (*Rom.* XXXV, 1-21, 283ff., 333ff.), was used for many new words: Pr. *Arbonenca*, *ramenc*; It. *solingo*, *Valinca*;

Sp. *Cusanca*. It was probably confounded, in some regions, with the following.

-*ing*, a German patronymic ending, was used for some nouns and perhaps for adjectives (see -*incus* above): Pr. *lausenga*; It. *camerlingo*.

-*inus* (as *caninus*, *Montaninus*) originally denoted appurtenance, then resemblance, then smallness; it was freely used, especially to form diminutive nouns, but sometimes to form new adjectives: *domnina* = 'young lady', Olcott 134-136; *Florentinus*; *serpentinus*. Cf. Olcott 200-204.

-*io*: see -*tio*.

-*issa*, from the Greek -*ισσα* (as *βασιλισσα*, so *pythonissa*), was used for some new formations: **dukissa*; *Germanissa*, Pirson 228; *prophetissa*, R. 251. Cf. Cooper 251.

-*itas*: see -*tas*.

-*itia*, -*ities*, used to form nouns from adjectives (as *munditia* -*ies*), were much extended, -*ities* especially in the south; both are rare in Rumanian (Cooper XLV): **altitia*; **granditia*. Cf. Olcott 78-80.

-*itus* first appears during the Empire in inscriptions in Italy and Dacia, sometimes in Spain and Gaul, as a suffix for proper names: feminine *Attita*, *Bonitta*, *Caritta*, *Julitta*, *Livitta*, *Suavitta*, etc.; masculine *Muritta*, *Nebitta*, *Sagitta*, etc. Cf. Pirson 226: *Julianeta*, *Nonnita*, *Nonnitus*. Its origin is unknown; it may have arisen from a childish pronunciation of -*clitus* -*a*: cf. -*icca*. Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.* § 172, conjectures that it may have come from the Germanic ending that now appears as *s* in such names as *Heinz*. A. Zimmermann, *Zs.* XXVIII, 343, regards -*dtus*, -*ltus*, -*dtus* as alternative forms of -*dtus*, -*ltus*, -*dtus*, like *littera* beside *littera*, etc. It came to be very widely used as a diminutive suffix for nouns, and also for adjectives, the *i* being short in Gaul, Rætia, and central and northern Italy, generally long in the Spanish peninsula and in Sardinia: nouns, Fr. *amourette*, It. *fioretto*, Sp. *bacito*; adjectives, Fr. *doucet*, It. *grassetto*, Sp. *bonito*.

-*itudo*: see -*tudo*.

-*ium*, -*eum* (as *capitium*, *calcaneum*): see G. 56-59.

-*ivum*, -*iva*: see Olcott 224-226.

-*men*, -*mentum*, used to form nouns from verbs (as *certāmen*, *vestimentum*), were extended, especially -*mentum*: **gubernamentum*. Cf. Olcott 123-131, R. 22-25.

-*mōnium*, -*mōnia*: see Olcott 81-82.

-*o* (-*ōnem*), originally used to indicate a characteristic (as *bibo*), was

commonly employed as an augmentative or pejorative, in Gaul often as a diminutive: *gūlo*; It. *boccone*; Fr. *aiglon*. See *Archiv* V, 56, 223, XIII, 222, 415, 475. Cf. Olcott 83-87, G. 44-45.

-*or* (-*ōrem*), used to form abstract nouns (as *candor*, *sapor*), was employed for many new formations of the same kind, especially in Gaul: *dulcor*; **flator*; **flavor*; **lūcor*; **sentor*; *viror*. In Gaul these nouns came to be feminine: Bon. 503-504 (*dolor*, *timor*, etc.).

-*or* (-*ōrem*), used to designate the agent: see -*tor*.

-*ōrium*; see -*lōrium*.

-*ōttus*, of unknown origin (cf. -*ittus*), was apparently used first of young animals, then as a general moderate diminutive: It. *aquilotto*, *casotta*.

-*sa*: see -*ta*, etc.

-*sio*: see -*tio*.

-*sor*: see -*tor*.

-*sōrium*: see -*lōrium*.

-*sūra*: see -*ūra*.

-*sus*: see -*ta*, etc.

-*ta*, -*tus*, -*sa*, -*sus*, later -*āta*, -*ātus*, -*ūta*, perfect participles used as nouns, started perhaps with such forms as *defensa*, *remissa*, i. e., feminine perfect participles with a feminine noun understood, and were reinforced by neuter plural forms which became feminine and also by fourth declension nouns in -*tus*, as *collectus*, *narratus*: cf. C. Collin in *Archiv* XIII, 453; L. H. Alexander, *Participial Substantives of the -ata type in the Romance Languages*, 1912. They were considerably used to make abstract nouns from verbs (and -*ata* was sometimes attached to nouns, as **annata*); -*tus* and -*sus* were preferred in Dacia (Cooper XLV): *collecta*, G. 111; **debita*; *extensa*, R. 83; **movita*, *Substrate* IV, 122; **perdita*; *recubitus*; **reddita*; **vendita*; It. *andata*, *fossato*, *venuta*. Cf. Olcott 33-51, R. 82-83, G. 85-88, Bayard 24-25.

-*tas* (-*itatem*), used to make abstract nouns from adjectives, was freely employed: *falsitas*; *nativitas*; *purius*; *trinitas*. So *deitas* from *deus*. Cf. Olcott 58-69, G. 102-106, Bayard 19-22 (very common in St. Cyprian).

-*tio*, -*sio* (-*tiōnem*, -*siōnem*), used to form abstract nouns from verbs (as *lectio*, *mansio*, *potio*), are very common in St. Jerome, St. Cyprian, and other late writers: *abbreviatio*; *aggravatio*, G. 63; **nutritio*; *ostensio*; *prensio*; *revolutio*. Cf. Olcott 2-23, R. 69-82, Bayard 19-22.

-*tor*, -*trix*, -*sor* (-*tōrem*, -*trīcem*, -*sōrem*), used to denote the agent (as *amātor*, *ensor*), were very freely employed (but show few traces in Rumanian: Cooper XLV): *necātor*; *ostensor*; Pr. *beveire*, *trobairre*. Cf. Olcott 88-122, R. 55-63, G. 45-56.

-*lōrium*, -*sōrium*, used to form from verbs nouns denoting place, some-

times instrument (as *dormitorium*, *natorium*, *cursorium*), were much extended, often taking the place of *-culum* (*cubiculum* > *accubitorium*): **casorium*; **ensorium*; **missorium*; **oratorium*; **pressorium*; **repositorium*. Cf. Olcott 194-196, R. 31-37, G. 96-97.

-tūdo (*-tūdinem*), used to make abstract nouns from adjectives (as *fortitudo*), was extended: **certitudo*; *servitudo*. Cf. Olcott 69-73.

-tūra: see *-ūra*.

-tus: see *-ta*, etc.

-ūlus, *-ūla*, diminutive (as *vitulus*), was used for a few new formations: **alaudula*; *ossulum*, Bon. 197.

-ūra and *-t-ūra*, *-s-ūra*, used to form abstract nouns from perfect participles (as *censura*, *strictura*), later from adjectives also, were extended, in late Latin often replacing *-or* (*fervor* > **fervura*): **frig'dura*; *mesura*; *nutritura*; *ornatura*; **planura*; *pressura*; *tensura*; **vir'dura*. See *Einf.* § 171. Cf. Olcott 51-58, R. 40-45, G. 88-90.

-ūta: see *-ta*, etc.

38. When Greek nouns were borrowed by Latin, the endings were adapted as follows: —

-os, *-η*, *-ον* regularly became respectively *-us*, *-a*, *-um*: Claussen 796. There are a few exceptions for special reasons (Claussen 795): *ἐλαιον*, influenced by *olere*, gave *oleum*; *μηλόφυλλον*, by popular etymology, gave *millefolium*.

-as in popular words generally became *-a* (Claussen 798-799): *λαμπάς* > *lampra*.

-ης, *-της* became *-a*, *-ta* or *-us*, *-tus* (Claussen 798): *τρώκτης* > *tructa*; *βωλίτης* > *boletus*.

-ι in popular words either fell or became *-a*, *-e*, *-is*, or *-i* (Claussen 799): *πέπερι* > *piper*; *σίναπι* > *sinapis*, *sinape*; *κῆρυμα* > *gumma*, *gummi-s*.

-is often became *-a*, instead of *-is* (Claussen 798): *ραῦσις* > *rausa*.

-μα in popular words gave a feminine *-ma* (Claussen 796-797): *κύμα* > *cima*.

-πος preceded by a consonant became *-er* (Claussen 797): *Ἀλέξανδρος* > *Alexander*.

-ων in popular words became *-o* (Claussen 797): *λέων* > *leo*.

Sometimes the genitive or the accusative was taken as a basis, instead of the nominative (Claussen 800-802): *ἐλέφαντος* > *elephantus*; *μαγίδα* > *magida*.

The unaccented vowel of the penult was often changed in conformity with Latin habits (Claussen 802-806): διάβολος > *diabolus diabulus*; κέρασος > *cerāsus* **ceršus*; κιθάρα > *cithāra cithēra*; σκόπελος > *scorpiulus*; σπατάλη > *spatula*.

c. SUFFIXES FOR ADJECTIVES.¹

39. The commonest endings are the following: —

—*bilis*: see —*bilis*.

—*aceus* —*acius*, —*iceus* —*icius*, used to make from nouns adjectives denoting material (as *arenaceus*, *pelliceus*), were extended (especially in rustic speech: Cooper 111), —*aceus* being employed later as an augmentative and pejorative suffix for adjectives and finally for nouns: *chartaceus*; *formaceus*; *mixticius*, G. 143; **setaceus*; It. *tempaccio*, etc. Cf. Olcott 215-220. See E. Wölflin, *Die Adjectiva auf -icius* in *Archiv* V, 415.

—*ilis*, —*ilis*, used to make from nouns adjectives of appurtenance (as *regalis*, *gentilis*), were extended: **cortilis*; **ducalis*; *episcopalis*. Cf. Olcott 226-238, G. 144.

—*aneus* —*ānius*, —*oneus* —*ōnius* (as *extraneus*, *erroneus*) were slightly extended: **caroneus*; *spontaneus*.

—*ans*, —*ens* (—*antem*, —*entem*), present participles (as *amans*, *potens*), were used freely to make adjectives and nouns from verbs: *credens*; **currens*; **passans*.

—*ānus*, denoting appurtenance (as *paganus*, *Romanus*), was used to form adjectives of place (occasionally time) and nouns of office: *biduanus*, Bechtel 83; *medianus*, Bechtel 83; **Sicilianus*; *Tuscanus*; — **capitanus*; *decanus*.

—*arcius*, a combination of —*arius* and —*icius* (as *sigillaricius*), became popular in Gaul: see A. Thomas, *Nouveaux essais de philologie française* 62 (*Flacherece*, etc.).

—*āris* (as *singularis*) was extended: *particularis*. Cf. Olcott 182-187.

—*arius*, attached to nouns and adjectives, to denote connection, and used also in the masculine to form nouns of occupation (as *aquarius*, *argentarius*, *pomarius*), was much extended, especially in the latter function: *imaginaris*; **leviarius*; — *apothecarius*; **marinarius*; **werrarius*. Cf. Olcott 137-173. The phonetic development of this suffix was apparently peculiar in Gaul and some other regions: the earliest examples are *glan-*

¹ Cf. Cooper 92-163 (diminutives, 164-195), Quillacq 32-40, Dubois 136-151, Bon. 464-467.

deria < *glandarius* + *-la* (6th century) and *sorcerus* < **sortiarius* (8th century); the earliest forms in French and Provençal are *-ers*, *-er*, then *-iers*, *-ier*. On the other hand, Spanish *-ero* and Italian *-aio* are perfectly regular, Italian *-aro* is easily explained by the analogy of the plural *-ari*, and Italian *-iere*, *-iero* are probably borrowed. E. R. Zimmermann, *Die Geschichte des lateinischen Suffixes -arius in den romanischen Sprachen*, and E. Staaff, *Le suffixe -arius dans les langues romanes*, try to derive all the forms from *-arius*. P. Marchot, *Zs. XXI*, 296 (cf. *Phon. I*, 34-36), postulates *-ar(i)us* and *-er(i)us*, showing that while the French forms may perhaps be derived from *-arius* and *-iarius*, the Provençal cannot. Cf. *Gram. I*, 222, § 227. Zimmermann, *Zs. XXVI*, 591, points out that many words have *c*, *e*, or *i* before the *a*, that *-iarius* was a real suffix (cf. *anatiarius*, Olcott 142), that *-iarius* and *-carius* may have established *-iers* in French. A. Thomas, *Rom. XXXI*, 481 (cf. *Nouveaux essais de philologie française* 119, and *Bausteine* 641), suggests that the Germans in Gaul associated *-arius* with their proper names in *-areis* or *-ari*, and when *umlaut* affected the *a* of these, pronounced *-arius*, too, as *-erius* or *-erus*, and that this pronunciation spread to the neo-Latin speakers. Cf. *Chairibertus* repeatedly used for *Charibertus* by Fredegarius: Haag 7.

-ātus, a perfect participle ending (as *sceleratus*), was much used to make adjectives in the popular language: *exauguratus*; **fatatus*; *timoratus*. Cf. Olcott 244-250, G. 159-160.

-bilis, or *-ābilis*, *-iblis*, an objective suffix used to make adjectives from verbs (as *amabilis*, *terribilis*), is very common in Christian writers and was much employed in late Latin, especially in learned words; it is rare, however, in Rumanian (Cooper XLV): *acceptabilis*; *capabilis*; **caritabilis*; *diligibilis*; *indicibilis*, G. 137. Cf. Olcott 209-213, R. 109-116, G. 135-140.

-ceus *-cius*: see *-āceus*.

-ens: see *-ans*.

-ensis, used to make from nouns adjectives of appurtenance (as *forensis*), was greatly extended, especially in popular speech, the derivatives being sometimes employed as nouns: **cortensis*; **Frankensis*; *turrensis*, G. 155; *vallensis*, G. 155;—**markensis*; **pagensis*.

-eus *-ius*, denoting material (as *aureus*), was slightly extended (but is rare in Rumanian: Cooper XLV); the derivative was sometimes used as a noun: *panneus*; *papyrius*;—*fageus*; *querceus*. Cf. Olcott 339-344.

-iblis: see *-bilis*.

-iceus *-icius*: see *-āceus*.

-*icus* (as *medicus*) was used especially in words from the Greek: *clericus*. Cf. Olcott 220-223.

-*idus* (as *rapidus*) was slightly extended: *exsūcidus*, G. 155 (Tertullian); **ripidus*; *sapidus*.

-*ilis*: see -*ālis*.

-*inus*: see Nouns.

-*inus* (as *fraxinus*) was used for a few adjectives: *quercinus*.

-*iscus*, probably a fusion of Greek -*ισκος* (*Syriscus*) and Germanic -*isk* (*Thiudiscus*), was used for -*icus* in some late words: **Angliscus*; **Frankiscus*.

-*itus*: see Nouns.

-*ius*: see -*eus*.

-*ivus* (as *nativus*) occurs in a few new formations: **restivus*. Cf. Olcott 224-226.

-*oneus*: see -*āneus*.

-*orius*: see -*lōrius*.

-*ōsus*, also -*iōsus*: *Rom.* XXXIX, 217.

-*sōrius*: see -*lōrius*.

-*lōrius*, -*sōrius*, made up of -*t-or*, -*s-or* + *-ius* (as *noscere notor notorius, censēre censor censorius*), were used for some new formations: *defensorius*; *mansorius*. In Provençal and Rumanian -*lōrius* was extended, with the sense of -*blis* or of the gerundive: Pr. *punidor*; Rum. *jurătōrtū*, Tiktin 597.

-*ulus*, diminutive (as *albulus*), was a favorite with Christian writers; *promptulus*, G. 158. Cf. G. 157-158.

-*undus* (as *jocundus*) was used in Spanish and Provençal for a few words: Pr. *volon*.

-*utus* (as *canutus*) was somewhat extended: **carnutus*.

d. SUFFIXES FOR ADVERBS.¹

40. The usual endings are as follows: —

-*ce* -*c* (as *ne nec, num nunc, tum tunc*) was apparently used to form *dunc* (C. I. L. IX, 4810, etc.) = *dum* + *ce* (cf. *Franz. v* I, 10); Pirson 252 cites eight examples of *dunc*, one of them from Gaul. Cf. *dōnique* in *Substrate* II, 103-106. Possibly **anc* is derived from *an* in the same way: cf. *Archiv* I, 241; *Gram.* III, 552.

-*e* is very common in St. Jerome: G. 193-197 (*angelice*, etc.). It was

¹ Cf. Cooper 196-204, Dubois 163-171, Bon. 467-470.

preserved in popular speech in *bene, longe, male, pure, tarde*, and occurs also in *Romanice*, whence such formations as *Brittanice, Normannice*, etc.

-iter: see *-ter*.

-o and *-um* generally coincided in pronunciation (*multum* = *multo*, etc.). They are rare in St. Jerome, but common in other late writers: *clanculo, multum, rato*, etc. Many such adverbs were preserved in common speech, as It. *alto, basso, caldo, chiaro, piano, poco*; hence other adjectives came to be used as adverbs (as It. *forte, soave*), and in Rumanian nearly all adjectives may be so used (as *greu, nou*).

-ter (as *breviter*) was not preserved in common speech, though much used in ecclesiastical Latin (G. 197-201: *infantiliter*, etc.), being especially common in St. Cyprian (Bayard 32-34).

-tim was favored by St. Cyprian (Bayard 34-35) and some other writers, but was not kept alive in popular Latin.

Some adverbial phrases on the model *ad...-ones* (in Italy also without the preposition) came into use: It. *a ginocchioni, bocconi*; Fr. *à reculons*. Cf. *Gram.* II, 689; *Rom.* XXXIII, 230; *Zs.* XXIX, 245, XXX, 337, 339.

Repetition was used, as sometimes in Classic Latin, for emphatic effect. Many examples are to be found in Petronius: *modo modo* = 'only yesterday,' Waters Ch. 37, Ch. 42, Ch. 46.

41. Adverbs of manner came to be made with the ablative *mente*. This noun was first used with an adjective to denote a state of mind, as *forti mente, obstinata mente, jocunda mente, firma mente, sana mente*; Apuleius, *dubia mente*, I, 6, and *saucia mente*, V, 23. Then it was employed in a more general sense: *pari mente*, G. 428; **bona mente*; **ipsa mente*; **mala mente*. Later, perhaps after the Vulgar Latin period, *mente* was used with any adjective that could make an adverb of manner; **longa mente*; *sola mente*, *Gl. Reich*. This formation is not common, however, in Rumanian: *Lat. Spr.* 487. In the Romance languages *mente* was sometimes added to adverbs: Fr. *comment*; It. *insieme*.

e. CHANGE OF SUFFIX.

42. The popular language sometimes substitutes one suffix for another, as *manuplus* for *manipulus*. The principal types are: —

(1) Substitution of a new or common suffix for an old or rare one: —

—*cillus* > —*cillus*: see —*illus*.

—*cillus* > *cillus*: see —*illus*.

—*ilus* > —*illus* (common in late Latin): *camelus* > *camellus*, Cohn 213-216, R. 460; *loquēla* > *loquēlla*, Corssen I, 227, R. 460; *querēla* > *querēlla*, S. 131, R. 321, 460; *suadēla* > *suadēlla*, R. 460. Cf. Caper (Keil VII, 96): "*querela, loquela per unum l.*"

—*ēnus* > —*īnus*: "*Bysacenus non Bysacinus*," App. Pr.; *venēnum* > ✓
**veninum*. Cf. Cohn 219-226.

—*ex(-icem)* > —*ix(-icem)*: *vervēcem* > *berbīcem*. Cf. Cohn 41-42.

—*illus* > —*illus*: *axilla* > *ascēlla*, etc. Cf. Cohn 42-52.

—*or(-ōrem)* > —*ūra*: *calor* > **calūra*; *pavor* > **pavura*; *rancor* > **rancūra*, etc. Cf. Cohn 172-180.

—*ilus* > —*illus*: *anulus* > *anēllus*; *avicula* > *avicēlla*, etc. Cf. Cohn 17-28.

—*ius* > —*itus*: *vacuus* > **vōcttus* (cf. § 195).

(2) Indiscriminate use of two suffixes: —

—*ānus* = —*āneus*: *extraneus* **extranus*; *subterraneus* **subterrānus*. Cf. Cohn 160-172.

—*ātus* = —*ītus* = —*ūtus*: *barbatus* **barbutus*; *carnatus* **carnutus*; *caudatus* *cauditus*, Cohn 184; *lanatus* *lanutus*, Cohn 184. Cf. Cohn 180-205.

—*āeus* = —*īeus* = —*ūeus*: *erīcius* **erīcius*. Cohn 30-31.

—*icūlus* = —*icūlus*: *capitūlus* **capitūlus*; *cornicūla* **cornicūla*; *lentīcūla* **lentīcūla*. Cf. Cohn 151-154.

—*icūlus* = —*icūlus*: *ossicūlum* *ossicūlum*, Waters Ch. 65; *pedicūlus* *pedicūlus*.

—*īlius* = —*īlius*: *consilium* **consilium*; *famīlia* **famīlia*. Cf. Cohn 154-160.

—*ix(-icem)* = —*ix(-icem)*: *sōricem* **sōricem*. Cf. Cohn 147-151.

(3) Alteration of a suffix: —

—*ārius*: see Suffixes for Adjectives, —*ārius*. Cf. Cohn 274-291.

-ēnus > -īnus through late pronunciation of Greek η as ī: σαγήνη > *saginæ* (Vok. III, 121: 7th century) > Old Fr. *saine*, etc.

-ŕcūlus? > -ŕcūlus: **genŕcūlum*; **ranŕcūla*, etc. Cf. Cohn 226-264.

-ŕdo (-ŕdīnem) > -ŕmen (-ŕmīnem): *consuetudo* **costumen*, *Substrate* I, 553-554; *incus* *incŕdo* **incŕmīnem*, etc. Cf. Cohn 264-274.

4. COMPOUNDS.

a. NOUNS.

43. *Acer arbor* (> Fr. *érable*); *alba spīna*; *avis strŕthius*; *bene placitum*, G. 131; *bis cŕctum*; *ŕn ŕdio* > *mŕdio die*; *mŕdio lŕco*.

b. ADJECTIVES.

44. These compounds generally belonged to the literary style. G. 130-134, 160-170: *magnisonans*; *omnimodus*; *unicornis*; *unigenitus*; etc. But *male habitus*, etc., were popular.

c. PRONOUNS.

45. See §§ 24, 65.

d. VERBS.

46. *Calce pistare*; *crucifigŕre*, G. 191; *fŕris mittŕre*; *genu-flectŕre*, G. 191; *inde fŕgŕre* (> Fr. *enfuir*); *ŕntra vidŕre*; *manu tenŕre*; *mente habŕre* (> Pr. *mentaver*); *mīnus pretiare*. So *antemittŕre*, etc., in *Gl. Reich*. In church writers there are many verbs in -*ficare*, as *mortificare*: G. 190.

e. ADVERBS.

47. There were many compounds made up of a preposition and an adverb: *ab ante*, R. 234; *ab intus*, R. 231, Bon. 483; *ab olim*, Bechtel 101; *a contra*, Bechtel 101; *a foras*, Bechtel 101; *a foris*, R. 231, Bon. 483; *a longe*, G. 203, Bon. 483; *a modo*, R. 232, Bon. 483; *a semel*, Bechtel 101; — *ad horam* = 'presently', 'just now', G. 426; *ad mane*, Bechtel 101; *ad semel*, Bon. 194, 484; *ad sero*, Bechtel 101; *ad subito*, Bechtel 101;

ad tunc, Bechtel 101; — *de contra*, Bechtel 101; *de deorsum*, R. 232; *de foris*, R. 232, G. 203; *de intro*, Bechtel 102; *de intus*, R. 232, G. 203; *de magis*, *Lat. Spr.* 487; *de retro*, R. 232; *de semel*, Bechtel 101; *de sursum*, R. 233, G. 203, Bon. 484; — *e contra*, G. 203; *ex tunc*, R. 433; — *in ante*, Bon. 484, *Lat. Spr.* 487; *in contra*, R. 235; *in hodie*, Bechtel 102; *in mane*, Bechtel 102; **in semel*, *Substrate* III, 268.

Petronius (Waters Ch. 38) says: *Ubi semel res inclinata amici de medio*.

The following compounds are of a still different nature: *ac sic*, *Per.* 40, 8, etc.; *et sic*, *Per.* 39, 17, etc.; *usque hodie*, G. 426, *Per.* 68, 13.

f. PREPOSITIONS.

48. Some of these adverbial compounds, and some others similar to them, were used as prepositions: *ab ante*, *Lexique* 40; — *de ante*, Bechtel 102; *de inter*, Bechtel 102, Haag 75; *de intus*; *de retro*; *in ante*; *in contra*. Cf. E. Wölfflin, *Abante*, in *Archiv* I, 437. Slightly different is *intus in*, Bechtel 102.

A compound made up of preposition + noun is found in: *in giro* (followed by the ablative or the accusative), Bechtel 102; *in medio*, Bechtel 102; *per girum* and *per giro* = *circa*, Bechtel 102.

Some compounds consist of two prepositions: **de ad* (> *It. da*)¹; *de post*, R. 235; *de sub*, R. 235; *de super*, Bon. 484.

g. CONJUNCTIONS.

49. *At ubi* and *ad ubi*, Bon. 484–486 (cf. *Per.* 74, 28, 85, 15, etc.); *et at ubi*, *Per.* 72, 19, 75, 3.

¹ Romance *da*, *dad* may be the result of a fusion rather than a combination of *de* and *ad*. In any case it is probably a late product. Some have thought it came from *de+ab*. Mohl, *Lexique* 38–47, says *da* is found from the 7th century on; he would derive *It.* and *Old Sp.* *da*, Sardinian *dave*, *dae*, Rätian *dad* from the Oscan *da*, *dat* and from a southern Latin **dabi*, **dabe*.

II. SYNTAX.¹

A. ORDER OF WORDS.²

50. The Romance order is simpler and more rational than that of Classic Latin. It does not permit the arbitrary separation of members that belong together, such as the preposition and the word it governs, or the adjective and the noun it modifies, as in Ovid's "In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora." Neither does it allow the collocation of words of the same part of speech that belong logically in different places, as in the "In multis hoc rebus dicere habemus" of Lucretius. The most irrational features of the Classic Latin construction were surely artificial, and were not characteristic of daily speech. Nevertheless there is really a fundamental difference between the old order and the new: Romance has, so to speak, a *crescendo*, Latin to a certain extent a *diminuendo* movement (*Lat. Spr.* 491); Romance puts the emphasis at the end, Latin very frequently in the middle. The principle, however, is not primarily rhythmic, but psychic, the difference being due to a diverse conception of the structure of language: Romance inclines more to put the modifier after the word modified. The modern order is the more logical, proceeding from the known to the unknown. The old arrangement is exemplified by this sentence: "Fabius

¹ See Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, for a comprehensive account of Romance syntax.

² See Elise Richter, *Zur Entwicklung der romanischen Wortstellung aus der lateinischen*, 1903, from which work most of the matter of this chapter was taken.

æquatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem vidit." The following examples illustrate the later structure: "Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia brevia," "Hæc loca sunt montuosa et natura impedita ad rem militarem." The change constitutes a progress in language; all cultivated peoples have made it. It is indigenous in Latin, not imitated from the Greek, which independently effected the same transformation.

51. The modern order was not abruptly substituted for the old. On the contrary, it is to be found in Latin, with generally increasing frequency, in inscriptions and popular writers, from the earliest texts down; it occurs sporadically also in literary authors, especially in Cicero. Petronius has notably short periods and an approach to the new structure. But until the fourth century the majority of Latin sentences have the old arrangement. Classic Latin may be said to represent an intermediate stage, while the revolution was in progress; there was a long struggle, and for centuries the ancient and the modern type were used side by side. By the fourth century the new order prevailed. Here is a characteristic passage from the *Peregrinatio*: "Hæc est autem vallis ingens et planissima, in qua filii Israhel commorati sunt his diebus, quod sanctus Moyses ascendit in montem Domini, et fuit ibi quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus" (*Per.* 37, 21-24). The following is a good sample of the style of the Vulgate: "Cui respondit Dominus: Qui peccaverit mihi, delebo eum de libro meo; tu autem vade, et duc populum istum quo locutus sum tibi; angelus meus præcedet te. Ego autem in die ultionis visitabo et hoc peccatum eorum" (*Exodus XXXII*, 33, 34).

52. There was always a tendency to put a stressed word first, followed by an unaccented one, such as a connective or an atonic pronoun (*Lat. Spr.* 490). According to Meyer-

Lübke, *Zs.* XXI, 313, personal pronouns, when unstressed, were always enclitic in Latin, and were attached preferably to the first word in the sentence; and so it was in the early stages of the Romance languages: *cl. lū. vedolo* but *non lo vedo*, *aiutatemi* but *or m'aiutate*; *Fr. voit le* but *qui le voit*. The definite article, however, precedes its noun in all the Romance languages except Rumanian and Albanian (Zauner 40).

53. In dependent clauses, which were naturally of less importance, the old order survived longer than in independent. In a few other respects the old arrangement lingered and under certain conditions is still preserved: negative and intensive adverbs precede their verb; under some circumstances the object may come before the verb, and sometimes the whole predicate precedes; in certain constructions the dependent infinitive may stand before the finite verb (as *Pr. morir volgra*).

B. USE OF WORDS.

54. There were great changes in the functions of pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs. Many uses of prepositions are connected with the loss of inflections: these will be discussed under the Use of Inflections. A definite and an indefinite article developed out of *ille* and *unus*.

1. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

55. For the simplification of inflections, see the Use of Inflections.

Repetition for intensive effect is not uncommon in late writers: *Commodian, malum malum*, Wölflin 4; *bene bene, bonis bonis, fortis fortis, malus malus*, etc., R. 280. Cf. § 40.

a. COMPARISON.

56. Little by little the old comparative and superlative lost their precise sense from being employed frequently with merely an intensive force (Wölfflin 83). The comparative came to be used for a superlative, as *omnium levior* (Wölfflin 68-71), and also for a positive, as Ovid's *inertior aetas* (Wölfflin 63-68); and the superlative was often really a positive in meaning, as in St. Augustine's *sancta atque dulcissima* (Wölfflin 57-63), and in *hic est filius meus carissimus*, etc. (R. 415-417). From early times certain periphrases were used to emphasize the comparative idea, as Plautus, *melius sanus* (Wölfflin 16); Anthimus, *plus congruus* and *maxime congruus* (Wölfflin 16; cf. *maxime pessima*, etc., R. 280); Vitruvius, *magis melior*, etc. (Wölfflin 46); Commodian, *plus levior*, etc. (Wölfflin 47). To avoid ambiguity, the *plus* and *magis* constructions were employed more and more to express a distinct comparison: *plus miser* in Tertullian, *plus formosus* in Nemesianus, *plus dulce*, *plus felix*, etc., in Sidonius Apollinaris (Wölfflin 29). Finally, toward the end of the Vulgar Latin period, this formation came to be popularly regarded as the regular one: *magis mirabilem*, Sepulcri 232; *plus popularis*, *magis . . . praeclarum*, Bon. 451. Many old comparative forms remained, however, in common use. Cf. Adverbs. In the Romance languages a substitute for the superlative was made by prefixing the definite article to the comparative; it is likely that this device existed in late Vulgar Latin; but no example of it has been found. See *Archiv* VIII, 166-170.

b. NUMERALS.¹

57. *Unus* was used as an indefinite article, occasionally in Classic Latin, frequently in late and popular writers: *lepida*

¹ For the forms of numerals, see Morphology.

... *una* . . . *mulier*, Plautus, *Pseud.* 948; *unus servus*, Petronius, Waters Ch. 26; *accessit ad eum una sorella*, R. 425; cf. *Per.* 48, 25, etc.

58. Ordinal numerals, except a few of the smallest, were apparently not much used in popular speech after the fifth century.

2. PRONOUNS.

59. Pronouns were much more used than in Classic Latin: G. 408-409.

a. PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

60. The personal pronouns came into more and more frequent use. *Ego* and *tu* are very common in Petronius. The demonstratives, especially *ille*, were employed as personal pronouns of the third person. The adverb *inde* came to be used occasionally as a genitive neuter pronoun: *nemo inde dubitat*, Regnier 10; *exinde* = Fr. *en*, Bon. 580.

Many pronouns developed double forms, according as they were accented or unaccented (as *suus* and *sus*): see Morphology. Cf. § 158.

There was great irregularity in the use of reflexives, especially the possessives, *suus* being generally substituted for *ejus*. See *Lat. Spr.* 489, G. 403-404, Hoppe 102-103, Dubois 333-336.

b. DEMONSTRATIVES.

61. *Idem* went out of popular use, being replaced by *ille* and *ipse*. For the encroachment of *ipse* on *idem*, see Hoppe 104, Bayard 133.

62. *Is*, too, was often replaced by *ille* and *ipse* (Bechtel 145), and eventually was preserved in vulgar speech only in the combination *eccum* (= *ecce hum*), where it was not recog-

nized,¹ and in the extremely common phrase *id ipsum* (> *It. desso*), where likewise the *id* lost its significance. This last compound was used as a neuter pronoun, meaning 'it' or 'that,' as *id ipsum sapite*, R. 424 (cf. R. 424-425, G. 407, Quillacq 126), and also as a demonstrative adjective, generally invariable, as *id ipsum velam*, R. 424, *in id ipsum monastiriu*, Franz. 2 II, 2, *in id ipsam rem*, Franz. 2 II, 2.

63. *Hic*, *ille*, and *iste* came to be used indiscriminately (G. 405-406, Hoppe 104, Bayard 130-132); there are examples of *iste* for *hic* in Cæsar's time (Densuianu 178). *Hic* and *is*, too, were confused by late writers (Bayard 132). Toward the end of the Vulgar Latin period *hic* was apparently going out of common use, with the exception of the neuter *hoc*.

64. A combination of two demonstratives was common in Christian writers: *is ipse*, *iste ipse*, *ipse ille*, *ille ipse*, *iste ille*, *iste hic*, *hic ipse*. The last three have left no trace.

65. *Ecce* and *eccum* (pronounced *eccu*) were used as demonstrative prefixes (cf. § 24): we find early *ecce ego*, *ecce tu*, *ecce hic*, *ecce nunc*; also *ecce iste*, *ecce ille*, such combinations being common in Plautus. The final stage, probably not reached until the end of the Vulgar Latin period, is the fusion of the two parts into one word.

Atque, too, was perhaps used as a prefix (*Gram.* II, 646): Plautus, *atque ipse illic est* (*Epidicus* 91), *atque is est* (*Stichus* 582). G. Ascoli, however, *Intorno ai continuatori neolatini del lat. "ipsu-"* in *Archivio glottologico italiano* XV, 303 (discussing Sp. *aquese*, Pg. *aqueisse*, Catalan *aqueix*, etc.); maintains that *eccu* was the basis in all the Empire. At any rate, *eccu* was influenced in some regions, especially in Spain and southern Gaul, by *atque* or *ac* (as in *ac sic*).

¹ Cf. Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* I, 25: "Ubi tu's? — Eccum."

When *iste* and *ille* lost their distinctive force, people said for 'this' *ec'iste* or *eccu'iste*, for 'that' *ec'ille* or *eccu'ille*. These compounds developed into **ecceste*, **acceste*, **ceste*, **eccueste*, **accueste*, **cueste* and **eccelle*, **accelle*, **celle*, **eccuelle*, **accuelle*, **cuelle*.

66. The suffix *-met* was used also as an intensive prefix, *ipse* becoming *metipse* through such combinations as *temet ipsum* (*Ecclus.* XXX, 22), *semet ipsum* (*Philip.* II, 8). Cf. § 24. *Ego met ipse* is blamed by Donatus (*Lat. Spr.* 484).

Beside *ipse*, there was an emphatic form *ipsimus* (used by Petronius: *Waters* Ch. 69, etc.). This, with the prefix *met-*, became **metipsimus*.

67. *Ille*, *hic*, *ipse*, *is*, especially *ille*, were used as personal pronouns of the third person. Cf. § 60.

68. *Ille*, *hic*, *ipse*, *is* were used also as definite articles. *Ille* in this function is very common: R. 419-420 (*cito proferte mihi stolam illam primam*). Examples of the others are by no means infrequent: *hic*, R. 427 (*virum hunc cujus est zona hæc*); *ipse*, R. 423 (*in ipsa multitudine*); *is*, R. 423-425. This use of *is* was probably more literary than popular.

c. INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES.

69. The forms were greatly confused by late writers. In Bon. 391-396 we find *qui* used as n. sg. and pl.; *quæ* as m., as n., as acc. f. sg., as acc. m. pl.; *quod* as m., as f. pl., as n. pl.; *quem* as n.; *qua* very often as n. pl. (395-396).

In popular speech *qui* was apparently used regularly for *quis*: Audollent 549, Quillacq 126-127, Bon. 391-392; it is common in inscriptions. Furthermore, the masculine *qui* took the place of the feminine *quæ*; it occurs in Christian inscriptions from the fifth century on: cf. R. 276 (*qui, quem* for *quæ*,

quam), Haag 51, Bon. 390-391, 394 (*qui* f. sg. and f. pl., *quem* f.), *Archiv* I, 53 (*qui* for *quæ* in 528 A. D.). *Quid*, moreover, gradually encroached on *quod*: Bon. 393.

70. *Qualis* was kept, and was used as an interrogative and as a relative. The adverb *unde* came to have occasionally the meaning of French *dont* (Bon. 580; *Zs. Beiheft* 7, 178), and eventually **de unde*, **d'unde*, was employed as a relative pronoun. Cf. § 84.

d. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

71. Some Classic Latin pronouns fell into disuse, and some new compounds were made. The principal indefinite pronouns and adjectives used in late popular speech are as follows:—

aliquanti took the place of *aliqui* and *aliquot*: *aliquanta oppida cepit*, G. 415.

aliquis flourished especially in the west: Sp. *alguien*, Pg. *alguem*. The neuter *aliquid* was more extended: Pr. *alques*.

aliqui unus > **aliqu'unus* **alicunus*.

alius and *alter* were confused in common speech: G. 415-417; Plautus, *alius filius*, G. 417. This confusion is more frequent in late Latin: St. Jerome, *nemo judicat alterum*, G. 416. There is evidence of the retention of the old neuter *alid* (Lucretius I, 263): *Archiv* I, 237.

cata was probably introduced, along the Mediterranean, by Greek merchants, in such phrases as *cata unum* = κατ' ἑνα, *cata tres* = κατὰ τρεῖς. Hence **cata unus*, **cat' unus*, etc. Cf. § 19.

homo was used sometimes like French *on*: *Per.* 55, 25.

inde came to mean, in certain constructions, 'some' or 'any.'

magis: see *plus*.

nultus.

**nec ente* or **ne ente* was apparently used as an equivalent for *nihil*. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* II, 650, conjectures **ne inde*.

**ne ipse unus*, **ne'ps'unus*.

nec unus.

nemo was kept in Italy, Sardinia, and Dacia: *Lat. Spr.* 485.

nüllus.

omnis: see *tötus*. *Omnis* and *omnia* were kept in Italy.

paucus.

persona.

plus and *magis* were confused: G. 427, Regnier 108-109 (*quanto plus tenetur tanto plus timetur*, 109).

qualis.

quantus, *tantus* replaced *quot*, *tot*. There are examples as early as Propertius: Densusianu 179. Cf. Dräger 104, § 53, R. 336-337, G. 413-415 (St. Jerome, *quanti iusti esuriunt*, 414; Claudian, *tantis lacrimis*, 415).

quī.

quique.

quī.

quīque, *quīque*. *Quisque* was much extended (G. 409-411), being used for *quisque* and *quicumque* (Bayard 135).

res and *res nata* = 'anyone', 'anything': R. 345.

talis.

tantus: see *quantus*.

tōtus, pronounced also *totus* (S. 121) and perhaps **tūtus*, was sometimes used for *omnis*: Plautus, *totis horis*, *Mil. Glor.* 212. This use was common in late Latin: Densusianu 178, Bechtel 143, R. 338, G. 402-403 (*tota tormenta diaboli in me veniant*, 403). Cf. §§ 163, 204, (2).

ūnus.

3. VERBS.

72. Frequent in late Latin is a pleonastic use of *debeo*, Bon. 691-693: *commonens ut . . . custodire debeant*, 692. Cf. § 117. Compare the old Italian use of *dovere*.

There is also a common pleonastic use of *cæpi* with the infinitive, instead of the perfect: see § 124.

Videri, too, is often used pleonastically: Bayard 99-100.

4. ADVERBS.

73. The words referring to the "place in which" and the "place into which" were confused, *ubi* being used for *quo*, *ibi* for *eo*: *Lat. Spr.* 488. *Unde* was employed in the sense of

'where' (*Zs. Beiheft* 7, 157); also 'therefore' and 'wherefore': *Dic amice unde tristis es*, Regnier 110; cf. § 84.

74. *Plus* was often substituted for *magis*, and *magis* for *potius*: Bayard 110. *Plus* and *magis* were used more and more for comparison, and the old comparative and superlative forms became rarer: see § 56. Repetition was used for intensive effect: Seneca, *semper semper*, Wölfflin 5. *Bene*, *multum*, *satis* were employed as intensives more than in Classic Latin. *Totum* occurs often as an adverb: *Per.* 37, 14, and many other places; Dubois 332.

75. Double negation is frequent: R. 446-447 (*nec facio nihil*, etc.). *Non* for *ne* with the subjunctive is common: G. 435, Regnier 110. The absolute use of *non*, meaning 'no', occurs occasionally: *Dicit unus ex uno angulo: Ecce hic est. Alius ex alio angulo: Non, sed ecce hic est*, Regnier 111.

5. PREPOSITIONS.

76. The functions of prepositions were very much extended (Bayard 137-158): see Use of Inflections, Cases.

77. *Ab*, according to Mohl, *Lexique* 43, is not found in any of the Italic dialects except Latin. It apparently has no successors in the Romance languages, having been replaced by *de*, which also, from the third century on, usurped the place of *ex* (*Lat. Spr.* 487, R. 395-396, Hoppe 38): *de palatio exit*, Bechtel 105; *egredere de ecclesia*, Bechtel 105; *de utero matris nati sunt sic*, R. 395; *egressus de arca*, G. 339; *muri de lapide jaspide*, G. 342; *vivo de decimis*, G. 341; *de adversario . . . aliquid postulare*, Hoppe 38; *nec de cubiculo . . . procedit*, Hoppe 38.

78. *Ad* for *apud* occurs in Plautus, Terence, and others

(Oliver 5-6), and is common in late writers (R. 390-392, Urbat 10): *ad ipsum fontem facta est oratio*, Bechtel 103; *ad nos*, Bechtel 104; cf. *Per.* 42, 27. For the most part *apud* was replaced by *ad*, except in Gaul, where it was kept with the sense of *cum*: Haag 74, Urbat 27 (*tractans apud me metipsum*; also *ad una manu pallas altaris tenerem*; etc., where *ad* seems to be used for *apud*). *Apud* is used for *cum* by Sulpicius Severus, and more frequently by later authors: *Lat. Spr.* 489. According to F. G. Mohl, *La préposition cum et ses successeurs en gallo-roman* in *Bausteine* 61, *apud* is repeatedly found for *cum* in the Latin writers of Gaul, and *cum* for *apud* in Gregory of Tours; *cum* probably disappeared from actual use in Gaul by the fourth century; *apud*, being, as he says, a new word, had a great vogue in authors of the second and third centuries, a critical period for Gaul, and so came to supplant *cum* in that country.¹

79. *Pro* often had the sense of 'for,' and replaced *ob* and *propter*: *fides pro una muliere perfida*, G. 343; *volo pro legentis facilitate abuti sermone vulgato*, G. 343; *attendimus locum illum pro memoria illius*, Bechtel 106. *Pro* itself was partially replaced by *per* (cf. § 14), but was substituted for *per* in other regions (Urbat 34-35).

80. *Circa*, in the Empire, frequently meant 'concerning': *frustrati circa veritatem*, Hoppe 37. *Juxta* often signified 'according to': *juxta consuetudinem*, Bechtel 105; *juxta drachmæ exemplum*, Hoppe 37. *Super* sometimes replaced *de*: *fallere vos super hanc rem*, Bechtel 106; *super anima commendatus*, Hoppe 41.

¹ Mohl would derive the Old It. *appo*, not from *apud*, but from **ad post* (p. 71); Fr. *avec*, not from *apud* + *hoc*, but from *ad hoc* (pp. 75-76). Pr. *ad* he takes from *apud*, but Pr. *am* from Italic *amb*, *am*.

81. *Retro, subtus, de foris, foris, foras* were freely used as prepositions (R. 398-400, G. 334): *vade retro me*, R. 399; *subtus terram*, R. 399.

6. CONJUNCTIONS.

82. *Quod, quia, quoniam* (and after *jubere, ut*: R. 427-428) are used very often by late writers instead of the accusative and infinitive construction: R. 402, Regnier 112-113. *Ut* with the infinitive is not infrequent: R. 445-446. *Quod* for *ut* is very common: Audollent 549. *Eo quod* came to be much used in the sense of 'that': *Per.* 48, 27, etc. Eventually *ut* was generally discarded.

Cur, quare sometimes replaced *quod* and *quia*: G. 431-432. *Quia*, which in late Latin was often reduced to *qui* or *qua* (see § 168) frequently took the place of *quod*: Regnier 111-112. *Quomodo* became a great favorite, often supplanting *quando, quod, and quoniam*: R. 403. *Quando* displaced *cum* in the temporal sense. *Qua*, 'when', encroaches on *quando* in the *Peregrinatio*: 46, 22, etc.; cf. Bechtel 119-120.

83. *Si* took the place of *an* and *utrum* (R. 403-405, Regnier 111), and was often used for *ne* and *num* (G. 430): *videte si potest dici*, Regnier 111. *Ac si* frequently did service for *quasi*: *Per.* 39, 13, and many other places; Bon. 323.

84. *Aut . . . aut* is sometimes equivalent to *et . . . et*: *Per.* 49, 24; cf. Bayard 161. *Ac sic* recurs continually in the *Peregrinatio*, meaning 'and so' or 'so': 40, 8, etc. *Tamen* in the same text (37, 2, etc.) seems to be used, in most cases, merely to indicate a subordinate clause. *Magis* is much employed for 'but' by late writers. *Unde* sometimes means 'therefore' and 'wherefore': G. 424 (*unde inquit Dominus*); cf. §§ 70, 73.

C. USE OF INFLECTIONS.

1. CASES.¹

85. In popular speech prepositions were more used, from the beginning, than in the literary language; prepositional constructions, as time went on, increasingly took the place of pure case distinctions, and the use of cases became more and more restricted. Hence arises in late writers a great irregularity in the employment of cases²: G. 302–326, Quillacq 96–103; for African Latin, *Archiv* VIII, 174–176; for confusion after verbs and adjectives, R. 412–415.

a. LOCATIVE.

86. The locative, rare in Classic Latin, remained eventually only in names of places. There are, however, several examples in the *Peregrinatio*: Bechtel 110, *et sic fit missa Anastasi, ut fit missa ecclesiae*, etc. We find remnants of the locative genitive in *Agrigenī* > *Girgenti*, *Ariminī* > *Rimini*, *Clusī* > *Chiusi*, *Florentiæ* > *Firenze*, *Palestinae* (G. 322), etc.; of the locative ablative singular in *Tibūrī* > *Tivoli*; of the locative ablative plural in *Andecāvīs* > *Angers*, *Aquīs* > *Acqui Aix*, *Astīs* > *Asti*, *Finibus* > *Fimes*, *Parisiīs* > *Parigi Paris*, etc. Cf. B. Bianchi in *Archivio glottologico italiano* IX, 378. With other words, and very often with place names also, the locative was replaced by *in* with the ablative (Hoppe 32: *in Alexandria*) or by *ad* with the accusative (Urbat 10); the *domi* or *domo* of Cicero becomes *in domo* in Seneca. When the locative of names of localities was kept, it generally came to be regarded as an in-

¹ Cf. Pirson 169–202.

² There is confusion even in Petronius, who occasionally uses the accusative for the dative and the ablative.

variable form; we find such locatives used as nominatives from the third century on: *Lat. Spr.* 481.

b. VOCATIVE.

87. The vocative is like the nominative in most words in Classic Latin, and such words as had a separate vocative form tended to discard it: vocatives in *-us*, instead of *-e*, occur in Plautus, Horace, and Livy; *meus* for *mi* is very common (Regnier 34). In Vulgar Latin the vocative form probably disappeared entirely, except perhaps in a few set phrases, such as *mi dōmīne*.

c. GENITIVE.

88. The genitive, little by little, was supplanted by other constructions, generally by the ablative with *de* (which occurs as early as Plautus), sometimes by the dative. Examples abound: *expers partis . . . de nostris bonis*, Terence *Heaut.* IV, 1, 39; *partem de istius impudentia*, Cicero, *Verr.* II, 1, 12; *clerici de ipsa ecclesia*, Bechtel 104; *de aceto plenum*, R. 396; *de Deo munus*, R. 396; *curator de sacra via*, R. 426; *de colentibus gentilibusque multitudo magna* (also *quidam ex eis*), *Acts* XVII, 4; *possessor de propria terra*, Ubat 20; *de sorore nepus*, Pirson 194; *terminus de nostra donatione*, 528 A. D., *Archiv* I, 53; cf. Bon. 610ff. For the partitive genitive we find: *nil gustabit de meo*, Plautus, cited by Draeger I, 628; *aliquid de lumine*, Hoppe 38; *neminem de præsentibus*, Hoppe 38; *de pomis* = 'some apples,' *Per.* 40, 10; *de spiritu Moysi*, Bechtel 104; *de animalibus, de oleo*, etc., R. 396; *aliquid habet de verecundia discipuli*, R. 342; *numquid Zacchæus de bono habebat*, Regnier 54; *quid de scientia*, *Sepulcri* 217; *de studentibus*, Pirson 197. Cf. Oliver 14.

89. According to Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.* 487, the genitive probably ceased to be really popular, save in set combinations,

by the beginning of the third century. In late Latin a wrong form was often used: *a deo honorem* in an inscription in Gaul, *Zs. fr. Spr.* XXV, ii, 135; *matre meæ, alta nocte silentia*, etc., *Bon.* 341-342; *in fundo illa villa*, etc., *D'Arbois* 13; *in honore alme Maria*, etc., *D'Arbois* 91-93.

The genitive was retained, however, in some pronouns, in a good many set phrases, in certain words that belonged especially to clerical Latin, and probably in some proper names: *cūjus, illūjus, illōrum*, etc.; *lūnæ dñs, est ministērii, de noctis tempore* > *It. di notte tempore* (later *di notte tempo*), etc.; *angelōrum, paganōrum*, etc.; *It. Paoli, Pieri*, etc.

d. DATIVE.

90. The dative was more stable than the genitive: *Lat. Spr.* 487. We find, however, as early as Plautus, a tendency to replace it by the accusative with *ad*: *ad carnificem dabo*, Plautus, *Capt.* 1019; *ad me magna nuntiavit*, Plautus, *Truc.* IV, 1, 4; *si pecunia ad id templum data erit*, inscription of 57 B. C., *C. I. L.* IX, 3513; *apparet ad agricolas*, Varro, *De Re Rustica* I, 40; *ad propinquos restituit*, Livy II, 13 — constructions freely used by Classic authors. Inasmuch as the dative, in the singular of most nouns and in the plural of all, was identical in form either with the ablative or with the genitive (e. g., *causæ causis, muro muris, mari maribus*), the fear of ambiguity naturally fostered this practice and the substitution became very general in most of the Empire: *ait ad me*, *Per.* 64, 8; *dicens ad eum*, etc., Bechtel 102-103; *cum hæc ad vestram affectionem darem*, Bechtel 103; *fui ad episcopum* = 'I went to the bishop', Bechtel 104; *loquitur ad Jeremiam*, G. 329; *ad quem promissio facta*, G. 329; *ad quem dixit*, *Sepulcri* 218; *Dominus ad Moysen dicit*, *Urbat* 12; *ad me restituit omne regnum*, *Urbat* 12; *ad Dei officio paratus*, *Pirson* 194. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 488, Oliver

3-4. Sometimes super, not ad, was used: *imposuerat manus super eum*, Bechtel 105; *super me misericordiam præstare*, Bechtel 105.

91. The dative remained in Dacia, and lingered rather late in Gaul (*Lat. Spr.* 481); elsewhere it probably disappeared from really popular speech by the end of the Empire, except in pronouns (*cûi, illûi illi, etc., mî, tibi, etc.*).

Rumanian has kept the dative, in its original function and also as a genitive, in the first declension (as *case*), and so in feminine adjectives (as *romîne*).

e. ABLATIVE.

92. The analytical tendency of speech, reinforced by the analogy of prepositional substitutes for the genitive and dative, favored the use of prepositions with the ablative, to distinguish its various functions. For *de* = 'than,' see *Zs.* XXX, 641.

Ab is common: *ab omni specie idololatriæ intactum*, Hoppe, 36; *ab sceleribus parce*, G. 335; *a carne superatur*, G. 337; *ab scriptura sancta commemoratos*, Regnier 51; *a præmio minorem esse*, St. Cyprian, cited by Wölfflin 52; *ab Ariulfi astutia deceptus*, Sepulcri 218.

De is the most frequent: *erubescens de infamia sua*, Hoppe 14; *de singularitate famosum*, Hoppe 33; *nobilior de obsoletiore matrice*, Hoppe 33; *digni de cælo Castores*, Hoppe 34; *gaudet de contumelia sua*, Hoppe 34; *de victus necessitate causatur*, Hoppe 35; *de vestra rideat æmulatione*, Hoppe 36; *de manibus suis*, Bechtel 104; *de oculis*, Bechtel 104 (cf. *de se*, Bechtel 105); *occidam de lancea*, R. 393; *patrem de regno privavit*, R. 426; *de virgine natus est*, Regnier 54; *de te beati sunt*, Regnier 56. Cf. R. 392-395, G. 339-342, Regnier 54-56.

Ex occurs also: *ex causa humanæ salutis*, Hoppe 33; *ex infirmitate fatigata*, Sepulcri 218.

¹ *In* is often found: *in illo die*, Hoppe 31; *quo in tempore*, Hoppe 31; *in maxilla asinae deleui mille viros*, R. 397; *in camo et freno maxillas eorum constringe*, Ps. XXXI, 9; *in amore Dei ferventes*, G. 347; *in bonis operibus abundetis*, Regnier 60. Cf. R. 396-397, G. 344-347, Regnier 58 ff.

93. Sometimes *ad* or *per* with the accusative is substituted for the ablative: *per hoc*, Hoppe 33; *ad diem*, Bechtel 103; *ad horam sextam aguntur*, etc., Bechtel 103-104; *per nomen vocavit*, Sepulcri 218; *pugnare ad ursos*, *ad unum gladii ictum caput desecare*, *Lat. Spr.* 488.

94. The use of prepositions became really necessary in the late spoken language, because, after the fall of final *m* and the loss of quantitative distinctions in unaccented syllables, the ablative differed little or not at all from the accusative in the singular of most words: *causām causā*, *donūm donō*, *patrēm patrē*, *fructūm fructū*, *diēm diē*. It is likely that before the end of the Empire the ablative plural form was generally discarded, the accusative being used in its stead, and that the ablative and accusative singular were pronounced alike, in all words, in most of the Latin territory. The fusion of the two cases was doubtless helped by the fact that certain prepositions might be combined with either accusative or ablative.

95. There is evidence of the confusion of accusative and ablative as early as the first century, but it was probably not very common before the third. *Cum* with the accusative is very frequent: *cum suos discentes*, *cum sodales*, in inscriptions, *Lat. Spr.* 488; *cum epistolam*, Bechtel 95; *cum res nostras*, D'Arbois 27. Cf. E. K. Rand in *Modern Philology* II, 263, footnote 5.

The accusative form is substituted for the ablative after

other prepositions: *a monazantes*, Bechtel 94; — *de eo torrentem*, Bechtel 96; *de actus*, Bechtel 96; *de hoc ipsud*, Bechtel 96; *de martyrium*, Bechtel 96; *de carnem*, etc., R. 406-412; *de ipsas villas*, D'Arbois 27; *de rigna nostra*, D'Arbois 70-71; — *ex fines tuos*, etc., R. 406-412; — *videbo te in publicum*, Waters Ch. 58; *in finem Deus fecit cælum et terram*, etc., Hoppe 40-41; 12 examples of *in* + acc. for abl. in *Per.*, Bechtel 97-98; *erat in medium maris*, R. 410; — *pro hoc ipsud*, Bechtel 101; *pro nos*, D'Arbois 152; — *sine fructum*, etc., R. 406-412.

96. Conversely, the ablative form is very often written for the accusative: *ad ecclesia majore*, Bechtel 94; — *ante sole*, *ante cruce*, Bechtel 95; *ante sole*, etc., R. 406-412; — *circa puteo*, Bechtel 95; — *contra ipso loco*, Bechtel 95; — *foras ecclesia*, Bechtel 96; — *in carne conversa*, etc., Hoppe 40-41; in the *Per.*, *in* + abl. for acc. is three times as common as the correct use of *in* + acc., Bechtel 94-101; *venit in civitate sua*, etc., R. 406-412; — *intra civitate sua*, Bechtel 99; *intro spelunca*, Bechtel 99; — *juxta aqua ipsa*, Bechtel 99; — *per valle illa*, and 21 other cases of *per* + abl., Bechtel 100; — *post lectione*, Bechtel 100; *post morte*, etc., R. 406-412; — *prope luce*, Bechtel 101; — *propter populo*, Bechtel 101; — *super civitate hac*, Bechtel 101.

97. The ablative was kept only in some fixed expressions, such as *hōrā*, *ist' annō*, *quōmōdō*, *parī mente*, etc.; perhaps in such phrases as It. *vendere cento soldi*, etc.; probably in some proper names with *de*, as *Della Casa*. It is likely, too, that the ablative absolute survived in a few common expressions, like It. *ciò fatto*; generally, however, in popular speech, the nominative absolute took its place: Bechtel 109-110, *et benedicens nos episcopus projecti sumus, visa loca sancta omnia* (*Per.* 45, 8), etc.

f. ACCUSATIVE.

98. After verbs of motion *ad* was often used, sometimes instead of the simple accusative: *eamus in forum*, Waters C 58; *fui ad ecclesiam*, Bechtel 103; *ad Babyloniam duxit*, 327; *consules ad Africam profecti sunt*, G. 328; *ad ista regionem venit*, Regnier 52. Cf. Regnier 51-52.

99. Duration of time was expressed by *per* with the accusative, also by the ablative: Bechtel 108-9, *per totos octo dies ornatus est*, *tota autem nocte vicibus dicuntur psalmi*, etc.

g. FALL OF DECLENSION.

100. By the end of the Vulgar Latin period there probably remained in really popular use (aside from pronouns and number of set formulas) in Dacia only three cases, in the rest of the Empire only two — a nominative and an accusative ablative. Clerics, however, naturally tried to write in accordance with their idea of correct Latin.

2. VERB-FORMS.

101. Many parts of the verb went out of popular use, and were replaced by other locutions; these obsolete parts were employed by writers with more or less inaccuracy. In the parts that remained many new tendencies manifested themselves.

a. IMPERSONAL PARTS.

102. Only the present active infinitive and the present and perfect participles were left intact.

(1) SUPINE.

103. The supine disappeared from general use, being replaced, from the first century on, by the infinitive: as *cu*

veneris ad bibere, St. Augustine, *Sermones* 225, Cap. 4. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 490, Dubois 275. In Rumanian, however, the supine was preserved: Tiktin 596.

(2) GERUND

104. With the exception of the ablative form, the gerund came to be replaced by the infinitive, sometimes with a preposition: *dat manducare*, *Lat. Spr.* 490; *quomodo potest hic nobis carnem dare ad manducare*, R. 430; *potestatem curare, necessitas tacere*, etc., G. 363.

The ablative form of the gerund became more and more a substitute for the present participle: *ita miserrimus fui fugi- tando*, Terence, *Eun.* V, 2, 8; Draeger II, 847-849, cites Livy, *conciendo ad se multitudinem*, and Tacitus, *assurgens et popu- lando*; *hanc Marcion captavit sic legendo*, Hoppe 57; *multa vidi errando*, Densusianu 179; *qui pertransiit benefaciendo et sanando*, R. 432. Cf. R. 432-433. The ablative gerund was sometimes used for a conditional clause: *cavendo salvi erimus*, Hoppe 57.

(3) GERUNDIVE

105. The gerundive was used as a future passive participle, with *esse*, from the third century on, in place of the future: *filius hominis tradendus est*, R. 433. Cf. R. 433-434, G. 386-388. Eventually, however, the gerundive was discarded, except in some standing phrases.

(4) FUTURE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

106. The future active participle was probably rare in late Vulgar Latin, except when it was used with *esse* as a substitute for the future (as *facturus sum*). Sometimes, in a literary style, it took the place of a relative clause: *faveant mihi pro ejus nomine pugnaturus*, G. 389. Cf. G. 388-389.

(5) PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

107. The present participle was kept, and was used as an adjective and as a noun: see Derivation, Suffixes for Adjectives, *-ans*. Sometimes it was employed periphrastically with *esse*: *si ipse est ascendens in calos*, G. 389. Writers occasionally substituted it for a relative clause: *nemo mentiens plorat*, G. 388. Often, however, it was replaced by the ablative gerund: see Gerund above.

(6) PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

108. The perfect participle was kept, and, as will presently be seen, its use was greatly extended through new methods of forming the passive and the perfect tenses. Verbs that had no perfect participle were obliged to make one.

(7) INFINITIVE.

109. The perfect and passive infinitive forms eventually disappeared: see Voice and Tense below. In late writers, however, the perfect instead of the present infinitive is very common: R. 431-432 (*malunt credidisse*, etc.).

110. The infinitive + accusative construction was more and more avoided from the third century on: G. 371-375. It was replaced sometimes by the passive, but often by a clause introduced by *quia*, *quod*, *quoniam*, *ut*, etc.: *Eva vidisse describitur*, G. 371; *legitur dixisse Deus*, Regnier 63;—Bechtel 112-115, *dicent eo quod filii Israhel eas posuerint, sciens quod libenter haberetis hæc cognoscere, credidit ei quia esset vere filius Dei*, etc.; *perspicue exposuit quod ager mundus sit*, G. 377; *nesciebat quia Jesus erat*, G. 383; *de corpore loquor, ut spiritu valeat non ignoramus*, G. 385. Cf. G. 375-385, Bon. 659-671.

Late writers, wishing to avoid vulgarisms, often misused the infinitive + accusative: G. 371-373.

III. On the other hand, the infinitive assumed many new functions: see Supine and Gerund above. Cf. Hoppe 42-52: *Ninus regnare primus, amant ignorare, aliter exprimere non est, bonus et dicere et facere*, etc.

It was often used as a noun: *totum vivere animæ carnis est*, Hoppe 42; *ipsum vivere accedere est*, Regnier 106; *per malum velle perdidit bonum posse*, Regnier 106.

It replaced the subjunctive with *ut* and similar constructions: *vadent orare*, Bechtel 117; *revertitur omnis populus resumere se*, Bechtel 117; *valeamus assumi*, G. 363; *quæ legi digna sunt*, G. 366; *timuisti... facere*, G. 368; *non venit justos vocare*, G. 370; *venit aliquis audire*, Regnier 73; *male fecisti dare Spiritum sanctum*, Regnier 74; *mihi præcepit hæc loqui*, Bon. 673. Cf. G. 363-370, Regnier 73, Bon. 647, 671-675; P. Thielmann, *Facere mit dem Infinitiv* in *Archiv* III, 177.

It took the place of a relative or indirectly interrogative clause after certain verbs: *nesciendo quæ petere*, Venantius Fortunatus, cited in *Lat. Spr.* 490; *non habent unde reddere tibi*, R. 430.

b. VOICE.

112. Under the influence of *carus est*, etc., *amatus est* came to mean 'he is loved', etc. Hence *amatus fuit* signified 'he was loved': see Draeger I, 276ff. Then a whole passive inflection was made up of the perfect participle + *esse* (in northern Italy *feri*). The old passive forms—except the perfect participle and, to some extent, the gerundive—gradually disappeared from ordinary speech. Although authors kept up the classic practice as far as they were able, some examples of the popular formation may be culled from late writings: *denuo factus filius fui*, Hoppe 60; *mors salva erit cum fuerit devorata*, Hoppe 60; *conjectus in carcerem fuerat*, Hoppe 61; *permissa est accedere*, Regnier 63.

113. As the passive inflection disappeared, deponent verbs became active. Even in Classic Latin there is often hesitation, as in the case of *frustrare frustrari*, *irascere irasci*, etc. Many deponent verbs are used as active verbs by Petronius. In late vulgar speech *mori*, *sequi*, etc., followed the same course. Cf. Bonnet 402-413.

114. In the intermediate period the passive was frequently replaced by reflexive and active constructions. When *littera scribitur* seemed archaic, and *littera scripta est* vulgar, people said *littera se scribit* and *litteram scribunt* or *litteram scribit homo*: cf. *facit se hora quinta*, Bechtel 126; *se sanare* = *sanari* in the 4th century, *Rom.* XXXII, 455 (cf. *Zs.* XXXIII, 135); for the use of *homo* with the force of French *on*, see *Per.* 55, 25.

c. MOOD.

(1) IMPERATIVE.

115. The imperative came to be restricted to the second person singular and plural of the present, the subjunctive being used for the third person, and also for the first. Dubois 275 notes that the forms in *-o* are very rare in Ennodius, who lived in southern Gaul in the fifth century.

116. In negative commands the imperative was often replaced by the subjunctive, by the indicative (found in Pirminius), and in Italy, Gaul, and Dacia by the infinitive: *Lat. Spr.* 490.

(2) SUBJUNCTIVE.

117. The subjunctive was limited to fewer functions, being replaced by the indicative in many constructions: *cum hi omnes tam excelsi sunt*, Bechtel 115; *si scire vultis quid facitis*, Regnier 69; etc. At the end of the Vulgar Latin period it was probably used, in popular speech, very much as it is used

in the Romance languages. Late writers, while trying to follow the traditional practice, were less logical and evidently less spontaneous than Classic authors in their employment of the subjunctive.

Sometimes the subjunctive was replaced by *debeo* with the infinitive: *debeant accipi* = *accipiantur*, G. 418. Cf. § 72.

Sometimes, after *facio*, its place was taken by the infinitive: Regnier 27-28, *ecce Pater fecit Filium nasci de vergine*, etc. Cf. § 111.

In conditions not contrary to fact, in indirect discourse and indirect questions, in dependent clauses that are not adversative nor dubitative, the indicative was often substituted for the subjunctive: R. 428-430, G. 355-357, Regnier 68-71.

On the other hand, late writers often put the subjunctive where Classic authors would have put the indicative: G. 357-362.

118. The imperfect subjunctive gradually gave way to the pluperfect: this use is common in the *Bellum Africanum* (*Lat. Spr.* 489); cf. Sittl 133-134. It apparently began with *debuisset*, *potuisset*, *voluisset*, used freely for the imperfect by Gregory the Great (*Sepulcri* 226) and others, and with perfect infinitives like *tacuisse* for *tacere* (*Lat. Spr.* 489: examples from the 4th century).

The imperfect subjunctive ultimately went out of use, except in Sardinia. Writers of the third and fourth centuries show uncertainty in the use of it; R. 431 cites many examples, as *timui ne inter nos bella fuissent orta*.

In Rumanian the pluperfect subjunctive has assumed the function of a pluperfect indicative: *căntăse*, etc.

119. The perfect subjunctive was apparently confused with the future perfect indicative. It was thus preserved in Spain

and in Italian and Rumanian dialects: cf. C. De Lollis in *Bausteine* I, and V. Crescini in *Zs.* XXIX, 619; Tiktin 596. Cf. § 124.

d. TENSE.

120. The present and imperfect indicative and the present subjunctive remained, in general, with their old functions; see, however, § 117. For the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive, see § 118; for the perfect subjunctive, § 119. In the perfect, pluperfect, future, and future perfect indicative great changes took place, which led also to the formation of a new perfect and pluperfect subjunctive.

(1) THE PERFECT TENSES.

121. In Classic Latin *habeo* with the perfect participle was used to express a lasting condition: *Hannibal quia fessum militem praeliis operibusque habebat, Part. perf.* 376. It was used in the same way with adjectives: *miserum habere*, etc., *Part. perf.* 372 ff. Even in Classic Latin, however, the meaning of this locution began to shift to the perfect, or something akin to it: Cato the elder, *quid Athenis exquisitum habeam, Part. perf.* 516; Plautus, *illa omnia missa habeo, omnis res relictas habeo, Part. perf.* 535; in legal phraseology, *factum habeo, Part. perf.* 537-538; Sallust, *compertum ego habeo*, Draeger I, 295. The construction is very common in Cicero in a sense that closely approaches the perfect: *satis habeo deliberatum, Part. perf.* 415; *scriptum habeo, Part. perf.* 422; *rationes cognitatas habeo*, Densiusianu 181; *pecunias magnas collocatas habent*, Draeger I, 294; cf. *Part. perf.* 405, 414-415, 423, 518-521, Draeger I, 294-295.

122. In late Latin this compound often had simply a perfect meaning: *metuo enim ne ibi vos habeam fatigatos*, Regnier 28; *episcopum invitatum habes*, Bon. 690. Cf. Bon. 689-691.

In popular speech it supplanted more and more the original perfect form, which was increasingly confined to its aorist function: *Lat. Spr.* 489. In the Spanish peninsula, however, and to some extent in Italy, the old perfect meaning was not entirely lost.

123. On the model of this new perfect, a compound pluperfect was constructed: Cicero, *quas in arario conditas habebant*, Draeger I, 294; *si Dominum iratum haberes*, Regnier 28; *quam semper cognitam habui*, Sepulcri 227. In the same way a future perfect was made: *de Cæsare satis dictum habebo*, *Part. perf.* 537. Eventually an entire perfect inflection was built up with *habere* or, in the case of neuter verbs, with *esse*; its vogue began in Gaul in the fifth century, elsewhere in the sixth: *Part. perf.* 543, 541.

124. The old perfect form remained in popular use, generally with the aorist sense. Some late writers were fond of substituting for it *cæpi* with an infinitive: Waters Ch. 70, etc. Cf. § 72.

The old pluperfect indicative became rarer, but still lingered, sometimes with its original sense, sometimes as a preterit, sometimes as a conditional. The preterit use occurs in *dixerat, ortaret, transalaret* in the *Gl. Reich.*; *auret, furet, pouret*, etc., in the Old French *Sainte Eulalie*; *boltier'* in the Old Italian *Ritmo Cassinese* (*Zs.* XXIX, 620); etc. The conditional function, which came down from the Classic Latin use in conditional sentences, was preserved in Spanish, in Provençal, in some southern Italian dialects (notably in the *Rosa fresca aulentissima*), and in the Italian *fora* < *fueram*.

The old future perfect was apparently confused with the perfect subjunctive, and continued to be used, with the force of a future indicative or subjunctive, in the Spanish peninsula.

in some dialects of Italy, and in Dacia: Sp. *cantāre*, Old Sp. *cantāro*. Cf. § 119.

The old pluperfect subjunctive was used as an imperfect: see § 118.

(2) FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL.

125. The Latin future was not uniform in the four conjugations; the formation in *-bo*, which was used in three of them and prevailed in two, was native, according to Mohl, *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 141-142, only in Rome and the immediate vicinity. Furthermore, the future in the first two conjugations was suggestive of the imperfect, and in the other two, in late pronunciation, was liable to confusion with the present subjunctive and indicative. These causes or others made the future unpopular. As the tense became rare in speech, mistakes were made in writing: *Vok.* I, 98; Regnier viii. The old *audibo*, *dormibo* forms were kept late (*Futurum* 161), and we find such errors as *respondeam* for *respondebo* (*Futurum* 158).

126. Classic Latin had some circumlocutions, such as *fac-turus sum*, *delenda est*, *habeo dicere*, which approached the meaning of the future. During the Empire there was a strong tendency to substitute these or other constructions for the future forms (such periphrases are particularly frequent in African church Latin):—

(1) The present indicative for the future is common in Cicero in conditional sentences: Lebreton 188-190. The substitution became frequent in all sorts of constructions: *nam si vis ecce modo pedibus duco vos ibi*, Bechtel 112; *cum volueris ire imus tecum et ostendimus tibi*, Bechtel 112; *pervidet*, Bechtel 90-91; *quando corrigis, quando mutaris? cras, inquis*, Regnier 64; *jam crastina non eximus*, Sepulcri 225. Cf. Draeger I, 286 ff.; Sepulcri 225-226.

(2) The future participle + *esse* was a favorite with late writers: *sic et nos futuri sumus resurgere*, Regnier 29. Cf. Bayard 256. See §§ 105, 106.

(3) *Velle* and *posse* + infinitive were frequent: G. 423. *Velle* in this sense was preserved in *Dacia*; the oldest Rumanian future is *voîu jurâ* or *jurâ voîu*: Tiktin 599.

(4) *Debere* + infinitive was another substitute. It was kept in *Sardinian*.

(5) *Vadere*, *ire*, *venire* + infinitive were used also.

127. The form that prevailed, however, was *habeo* with the infinitive: In Classic Latin *habeo dicere* = *habeo quod dicam*, being so used by Cicero and many others; later, as in Suetonius, it means *debeo dicere*: *Futurum* 48 ff. Cf. Varro, *De Re Rustica* I, 1, *ut id mihi habeam curare*; Cicero, *Ad Famil.* I, 5, *tantum habeo tibi polliceri*; Lucretius VI, 711, *in multis hoc rebus dicere habemus*; Ovid, *Trist.* I, 1, 123, *mandare . . . habebam*. In these senses it was very common in late writers: *habes spectare*, Hoppe 43; *filius Dei mori habuit*, Hoppe 44; *probare non habent*, Hoppe 44; *non habent retribuere*, R. 447; *multa habeo dicere*, R. 447; *unde mihi dare habes aquam vivam*, R. 448; *exire habebat*, R. 449; *nec verba nobis ista dici habent*, Regnier 28. Cf. R. 447-449.

128. This *habeo* construction finally took the sense of a simple future: Tertullian, *aliter prædicantur quam evenire habent, cui dare habet Deus corpus*, etc., Hoppe 44-45;—Servius, *velle habet*, *Futurum* 180;—St. Jerome, *qui nasci habent*, G. 370;—St. Augustine, *tollere habet*, Denssianu 181; *et sic nihil habes invenire in manibus tuis, videre habetis, venire habet*, etc., Regnier 28. It had become common in Italy by the sixth century.

129. In the early stages of the Romance languages, or

possibly in the latest stage of Vulgar Latin, the infinitive came to stand regularly, though not immutably, just before the *habeo*. Finally the two words were fused into one, but this union was not completed until after the beginnings of the Romance literatures, and in Portuguese it is not completed yet: Old Sp. *cantaré* or *he cantar*; separation is common in Old Provençal, and occurs in Old Italian; Pg. *fazel-o-he*. The earliest examples of the Romance future are found in Fredegarius: *Justinianus dicebat 'daras'*, Haag 54; *addarabo*, Haag 55. See Morphology.

130. On the model of this new form, an imperfect of the future, or *conditional*, was constructed. The phrase existed, ready for use, in Classic Latin, where it was employed with an implication of obligation or necessity. So it seems to be used by Tertullian, although sometimes with him the meaning borders on a real conditional: *non traditus autem traduci habebas, ista civitas exterminari haberet, quod esset venturus et pati haberet*, etc., Hoppe 43-45.

In Classic Latin, in place of *amassem* in the conclusion of a conditional sentence, *amaturus eram* or *fui* was often used; and when *amaturus sum* was replaced by *amare habeo*, it was natural that *amaturus eram* should give way to *amare habebam*. Furthermore, to match such a sentence as *dicit quod venire habet*, there was needed a past construction like *dixit quod venire habebat* or *habuit*; and corresponding to *si possum venire habeo*, something like *si potuissem venire habebam* or *habui* was called for.

St. Cyprian and St. Hilary seem to show a simple conditional use of the compound: *quod lex nova dari haberet*, Bayard 256; *manifestari habebat*, Bayard 257;—*Herodes principes sacerdotum ubi nasci habebat Christus interrogat*, Quillacq 116. There are sure examples from the fifth century on: *Lat. Spr.* 489.

The development of this form in the Romance languages was, in general, parallel to that of the future: see Morphology.

The origin of the Rumanian conditional, *cîntareaşî*, is not obvious; for a full discussion of the question, see H. Tiktin, *Die Bildung des rumänischen Konditionalis* in *Zs. XXVIII*, 691.

III. PHONOLOGY.

A. SYLLABICATION.

131. The principles of syllabic division are rather difficult to establish. The Latin grammarians seem to have given no heed to actual speech, but to have followed the usage of Greek spelling, supporting it with purely theoretical considerations. Cf. S. 132-151. According to these writers, the syllable always ended in a vowel, or in a liquid or nasal followed by another consonant in the next syllable, or in half of a double consonant: *a-ni-ma, no-ctem, pro-pter, a-mnis; al-ter, in-fans; sic-cus, mit-to*. The division of *s* + consonant they regard as uncertain (*a-strum*); doubtless in reality the *s* was nearly syllabic, as in Italian. They add that etymological considerations often disturb the operation of the rule, as in *ob-liviscor*, etc.

132. In point of fact, however, all consonant groups, except a mute + a liquid, made position and attracted the accent: *perfēctus*, and not *pērfe-ctus*. It is altogether likely, then, that a consonant group, in the spoken language, was usually divided after the first consonant: *no-ctem, prop-ter*. A single consonant between vowels certainly went with the second: *po-si-tus*.

The group mute + liquid makes position in the older dramatists: Nævius accents *intēgram*, *Lat. Spr.* 466. In the Classic poets it may or may not make position. Quintilian I, 5 recommends *tēnebræ, vólucres, phāretra*, etc. In Vulgar Latin this combination almost invariably attracts the accent: *cathēdra*. It is likely that in Old Latin the division came before the

liquid, but subsequently, after the accent had become fixed on the preceding vowel, both consonants were carried over: *cólub-ra*, *co-lúb-ra*, *co-lú-bra*.

133. We have reason to believe that in closely connected speech a final consonant was carried over to the next word, if that word began with a vowel: *cor exsultat* = *co r-exsultat*.

B. ACCENT.

134. The Latin accent was probably from the beginning a stress accent. In the earliest stage of the language it apparently fell regularly on the first syllable: Corssen II, 892-906; S. 30-34; *Franz.* § I, 13. The Classic Latin system—according to which the accent falls on the penult if that syllable is long, otherwise on the antepenult—developed as early as literature began, and remained, both in the literary and in the spoken language, through the Classic period; even after the distinctions of quantity were lost, the place of the accent was unchanged: *bonitátem*, *cómpūto*, *delécto*.

The penult vowel before mute + liquid (cf. § 132) normally has the stress in Vulgar Latin: *cathédra*, *colúbra*, *intégram*. There seem to be a few exceptions to the rule: Old Fr. *palpres* < *pálpebras*, Old Fr. *poltre* < **púllitra*, and perhaps some others.

1. PRIMARY STRESS.

135. We have seen that Vulgar Latin regularly accents according to the Classic quantitative accentuation. There are, however, some cases in which the Classic principle fails to operate or the Classic stress has been shifted:—

a. VOWELS IN HIATUS.

136. Accented *e* and *i*, when immediately followed by the vowel of the penult, became *y*, the accent falling on the

following vowel: *mul̄l̄eris* > *mulj̄eris*, S. 51, *Lat. Spr.* 468; *put̄ēōlis* > *putj̄ōlis*, *C. I. L. X*, 1889 (PVTEŌLIS); so *par̄ētes* > *parj̄ētes* > *parētes*,¹ *C. I. L. VI*, 3714 (PARETES). This change seems to be due to a tendency to shift the stress to the more sonorous of two contiguous vowels: cf. O. Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, p. 192. It was favored also by the analogy of *mūlier*, *pūteus*, *pāries*, etc., in which the vowel in hiatus is atonic.

137. Accented *u*, when immediately followed by the vowel of the penult, became *w*, the accent falling on the preceding syllable: *bat(t)ūēre* > **bāttuere* > *bāttere*; *consūēre* > **consuere* > *cōsere*; *habūērunt* > **hābuerunt*; *tenūēram* > **tēnueram*. Here the shift was apparently due in each case to analogy, *battuere* being influenced by *bāttuo*, *consuere* by *cōsuo*, *habuerunt* by *hābuit*, *tenueram* by *tēnui*, etc.

138. Aside from these cases, hiatus seems to have had no effect on the accent in Latin. It is possible, however, that *dūos*, *sūos*, *tūos* were sometimes pronounced *duōs*, *suōs*, *tuōs*.

b. COMPOUND VERBS.

139. Verbs compounded with prefixes were generally reconstructed with the accent and the vowel of the simple verb, provided the composite nature of the formation was understood and the parts were recognized (cf. § 31): *dēficiit* > **disfāciit*, *displ̄icet* > **displ̄ācet*, *impl̄icat* > **impl̄īcat*, *redd̄idi* > *redd̄ēdi*, *reqūirit* > **reqūērīt*, *ret̄inet* > **ret̄ēnet*, etc. Cf. *Gram.* II, 668-670. So *calefacis*, S. 56; *condedit*, *perdedit*, *reddedit*, *tradedit*, S. 54; *addedi*, *adsteti*, *conteneo*, *crededi*, *inclausus*, *presteti*, etc., *Sepulcri* 213-215. On the same plan new verbs were formed: **de-mīnat*, *re-nēgat*, etc.

¹*ē* regularly became *ē*; but if the preceding consonant was *l*, it was palatalized, hence *parētes*, but **mul̄l̄eres*. Cf. § 225.

Rēcipit became **rectpit*, the composite character of the word being felt, although the compound was no longer associated with *capere*.

In *cōlligo* and some others not even the composite nature was perceived, the simple verbs having become rare or having taken a different sense: *legere*, for instance, came to be used only in the sense of 'read.'

c. ILLAC, ILLIC.

140. The adverbs *illāc*, *illīc* accented their last syllable through the analogy of *hāc*, *hīc*. Priscian says "*illīc* pro *illice*": S. 42.

d. FICATUM.

141. There existed in Greek a word *συκωτόν* (Pirson 40), 'figlike', which was applied by cooks to a liver. It is found in late Latin in the form *sycotum*, which should properly have been pronounced *sycōtum*; for some unknown reason, perhaps under the influence of a vulgar **hēpāte* for *hēpar*, 'liver', it probably became **sēcotum*.

Through this word there came into use the culinary terms *ficātum*, **fīcatum*, **fēcatum*, **fēcotum*, **fēcītum*, all meaning 'liver.' *Ficātum*, a simple translation of *συκωτόν*, prevailed in Dacia, Rætia, and northern Italy. *Fēcatum* or *fēcotum*, a fusion of *ficātum* and **sēcotum*, was preferred in central and southern Italy. *Fīcatum*, a cross between *fēcatum* and *ficātum*, was kept in Sicily and in the Spanish peninsula. Sardinia preserved both *ficātum* and *fīcatum*. Gaul had *fīcatum* and *fēcatum*; later, by a change of suffix, *fēcītum*. See G. Paris in *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli* 41; H. Schuchardt in *Zs. XXV*, 515 and *XXVIII*, 435; L. Clédat in *Revue de philologie française et de littérature* XV, ---

e. NUMERALS.

142. The numbers *vīgīntī*, *trīgīnta*, *quadrāgīnta*, *quīnquāgīnta*, etc., were sometimes accented on the antepenult: Consentius mentions a faulty pronunciation *trīgīnta*, Keil V, 392, lines 4-5; *quarranta* occurs in a late inscription, *Vok.* II, 461, Pirson 97. See M. Ihm in *Archiv* VII, 69-70; G. Rydberg in *Mélanges Wahlund*, 337. The shift was probably due to a natural tendency to differentiate the numerals from one another: compare the floating accent in English *thirteen*, *fourteen*, etc.

d. GREEK WORDS.

143. The accentuation of Greek words was varied. Sometimes the Greek stress was preserved, sometimes the word was made to conform to the Latin principle.

(1) GREEK OXYTONES.

144. Greek oxytones, when borrowed by Latin, were stressed according to the Latin system: δραχμή > *drách(ŭ)ma*, ἐπιστολή > *epístŭla -ōla*, λαμπάς > *lámpra(s)*, μηχανή > *mác(h)-īna*, παραβολή > *parábŭla*, πειρατής > *piráta*, σπασμός > *spásmus*, ταπεινός > **tapīnus*. Cf. S. 42 ff., Claussen 809.

Συκωτόν, however, apparently stressed the first syllable: see § 141.

(2) GREEK PAROXYTONES.

145. Greek paroxytones were mostly accented according to the quantity of the penult: γραφίον > *gráphŭm*, καμάρα > *cámĕra*, μαγίδα > *mágida*, παλάμη > *pálma*, πολύπους > *pólŭpus*,¹ πορφύρα > *púrŭra*, φαρέτρα > *pḥárĕtra* or *pharĕtra* (cf. § 134).

Πισιάνη (> *pĭtsāna*) > It. *tisāna*, φιάλη (> *pḥiāla*) > It. *fiāla*, χολέρα (> *chólĕra*) > It. *coléra*, etc., may represent popular terms borrowed by ear from the Greek, with the Greek stress,

¹ Occasionally the accent was kept by doubling the consonant, as *políppus*.

but it is more likely that the Italian forms are book-words with a shifted accent.

Cf. S. 42 ff., Claussen 810–811.

146. The ending *-ía* was at first generally assimilated to the Latin *-ia*: *βιβλία* > *bíblia*, *βλασφημία* > *blasphémia*, *ἐκκλησία* > *ec(c)lésia*, *ἱστορία* > *história*, *σηπία* > *sépiá*, *συμφωνία* > *symphónia*. Later a fashionable pronunciation *-ía*, doubtless favored by Christian influence, penetrated popular speech (*σοφία* > *sophía*, etc.) and produced a new Latin ending *-ía*, which was used to form new words: see Derivation, Suffixes for Nouns. Cf. Claussen 812. The pronunciations *melodía*, etc., and *sophíā*, etc., are attested: S. 55–56.

The endings *-εία*, *-είον* sometimes became *-ěa* *-ěa*, *-ěum* *-ěum*, sometimes *-ěa*, *-ěum*: *βαλανείον* > *bálněum*, *κωνωπέιον* > *conopěum* *-ěum* *-ěum*, *πλατεία* > *platěa* *platěa*. Cf. Claussen 813–814.

(3) GREEK PROPAROXYTONES.

147. The treatment of proparoxytones is complicated. Cf. S. 42–49, Claussen 814–821, *Gram.* I, 35, § 17, A. Thomas in *Rom.* XXXI, 2–3. Late Latin grammarians mention a pronunciation of Greek words with the Greek accent (S. 42), but their statements are too vague to be of use.

A few early borrowed words perhaps show the Old Latin accentuation: *κυνάρισσος* > **cúparissos* > *cupressus*. Cf. Claussen 809.

148. When the penult was short, the accent remained unchanged: *γένεσις* > *géněsis*, *κάλαμος* > *cálămus*, *κόλαφος* > *cólăphus*, *πρεσβύτερον* > *presbýtěrum* (with a new nominative *présbyter*).

149. When the penult vowel was in position, it took the accent: *ἄβυσσος* > *abýssus*, *βάπτισμα* > *baptísma*, *τάλαντον* > *taléntum*.

**Ἐγκαυστον*, however, became both *encāustum* and *encaustum*.

Occasionally the consonant group was simplified and the accent remained: *καρυόφυλλον* > **garófŭlum*.

150. When the penult vowel was long and not in position, it apparently took the accent in book-words but not in words learned by ear (S. 48-49): *κάμηλος* > *camēlus* - *ēllus*, *κάμνος* > *camīnus*, *κροκόδειλος* > *crocodīlus*, *φάλλαϊνα* > *ballēna*; *ἄγκυρα* > *āncōra*, *βλάσφημος* > *blāsphēmus* (Prudentius), *βοντύρον* > *būtŭrum* (Æmilius Macer), *Ἰάκωβος* > *Jācobus*, *σέλινον* > **sēlinum*.

Some words have both pronunciations: *εἶδωλον* > *īdōlum* (both in Prudentius: *Lat. Spr.* 466), *ἐρημος* > *erēmus* *erēmŭs* (Prudentius), *σίνᾱπι* > *sināpi* *sināpi*.

e. OTHER FOREIGN WORDS.

151. Some words borrowed from other languages kept their original accent, contrary to Latin rules (S. 49): Umbrian *Pisaurum* > It. *Pēsaro*, etc.; Celtic *Baiōcasses* > Fr. *Bayeux*, *Durōcasses* > Fr. *Dreux*, *Trīcasses* > Fr. *Troyes*, etc., Dottin 103-

152. Germanic words were apparently made to conform to Latin types: *Hūgo Hūgun* > *Hūgo Hugōnem* > Fr. *Hūes Huōn*, Kluge 500.

2. SECONDARY STRESS.

153. As far as we can determine the rhythm of Vulgar Latin, judging from phonetic changes and from semi-popular late Latin verse, it consisted in a tolerably regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. Thus Sedulius, at the beginning of the fifth century, writes:

Beātus áuctor sǣculí
 Servíle córpŭs ínđuít,
 Ut cárne cárnem líberáns
 Ne pérderét quos cónídít.

The secondary stress, then, fell on the second syllable from the tonic: *cupiditōsus, felicitātem; dōlōrōsa, lacrimōsa; Cēsārēm, Gallias*. In some derivatives, however, the root syllable may have received an irregular stress through the analogy of the primitive: **arboricellus*.

In late formations *e* or *i* in hiatus did not count as a syllable: **cominitiare*.

154. When the secondary stress preceded the tonic, it was strong, and the vowel bearing it was apparently treated as an accented vowel: **amicitatem* > Pr. *amistat*; so, in Italian, *Buólogno* beside *Bolōgna*, *Fiórentino* beside *Firēnze*, *vétto-vágli* beside *vittória*.

When it followed the tonic, it was weak, but probably the vowel bearing it had more force than a wholly unaccented final vowel: *sócērt* > Pr. *sózer*, *pláctum* > Pr. *plach*; but *clérícum* > Pr. *clérque* while *clér'cum* > Pr. *clerc*, *colāphum* > Pr. *colbe* while *col'pum* > Pr. *colp*.

155. In many cases the intervening vowel fell out or lost its syllabic value. Then the primary and the secondary accent were brought together, and the secondary was shifted or lost: **parábulare* > **paráulare* > **páraulare*, *cálidus* > *cáldus*, *filius* > *filius*.

UNSTRESSED WORDS.

156. Short, unemphatic words, in Latin as in other languages, had no accent, and were attached as additional syllables to the beginning or end of other words (S. 38-39): *non-ámat, áma-me, te-videt, dó-tibi, cave-fácias, circum-lítora* (Quintilian I, 5). Many words, especially prepositions and conjunctions, as well as some adverbs and pronouns, were used only as enclitics or proclitics.

157. If such particles had more than one syllable, they tended to become monosyllabic: unstressed *magis*, perhaps influenced by *plus*, became **mais* and **mas*. A dissyllabic proclitic beginning with a vowel seems to have regularly lost that vowel: *illum videt* > 'lu' *videt*; *ecce hīc* > 'c'ic (but *ecce hīc* > *ecc'ic*); *eccum istum* > 'cu' *istu* (but *eccum istum* > *eccu'istu*). For elision, see *Franz.* 2 II, 73-79, 379-390.

158. Words sometimes stressed and sometimes unstressed tended to develop double forms: *illās* > *illas* and **las*, *sūa* > *sua* and *sa*. Cf. S. 56-57. //

C. QUANTITY.

159. We must distinguish between the quantity of vowels and the quantity of syllables. Every Latin *vowel* was by nature either long or short; how great the difference was we do not know, but we may surmise that in common speech it was more marked in stressed than in unstressed vowels. A *syllable* was long if it contained (1) a long vowel or a diphthong or (2) any vowel + a following consonant. If, however, the consonant was final and the next word began with a vowel, the consonant, in connected speech, was doubtless carried over to the next syllable and did not make position: see § 133. For the syllabication of mute + liquid, see §§ 132, 134.

1. POSITION.

160. *In some of the Romance languages position checked the development of the preceding vowel, and it is probable that the beginnings of this differentiation go back to Vulgar Latin times: *pa-rem* > Old Fr. *per*, *par-tem* > Fr. *part*. Mute + liquid did not prevent the development: *pa-trem* > Fr. *pere*. Neither, apparently, did a final consonant (cf. § 133): *sa-l* > Fr. *sel*.

Compare Italian *fiero* < *fē-rus*, *ferro* < *fēr-rum*; *petto* < *pēc-tus*, *pietra* < *pē-tra*, *fiel(e)* < *fē-l*; — *fuore* < *fō-ris*, *collo* < *cō?-lum*; *corpo* < *cōr-pus*, *cuopre* < **cō-p'rii*, *cuor(e)* < *cō-r*.

161. Early in the Empire *ss* after diphthongs and long vowels was apparently reduced to *s* (S. 112-120): *cāssus* > *cāsus*, *caussa* > *causa*, *formōssus* > *formōsus*, *glōssa* > *glōsa*, *missit* (S. 118: *MISSIT*) > *mīsit*. This did not occur, however, in the contracted endings *-āsse -āssem* etc., *-ēsse -ēssem* etc., *-īsse -īssem* etc.

Similarly one *l* was lost in *māllo*, *millia* (but not in *mille*: Pompeius, S. 127), *nōllo*, *paullum*.

162. In Latin texts there is much confusion of single and double consonants, especially before the accent: *bal(l)æna*, *buc(c)īna*, *cot(t)idie*,¹ *ec(c)lesia*,² *glut(t)ire*, *mut(t)ire*, *tap(p)ēte*, *ves(s)ica*, etc. Cf. S. 111-132, Stolz 223-224. In some words this may result merely from bad spelling; but often it must represent an actual difference in pronunciation, as seems to be the case with the doublet *cīto* > Sp. *cedo*, *citto* (C. I. L. VIII, 11594) > It. *petto*. Cf. § 163.

163. Many words certainly had two forms, doubtless belonging to different Latin dialects, — one with a long vowel + a single consonant, the other with a short vowel + a double consonant: *brāchium brēcchium*; *būca būcca*; *camēlus camēllus*, where we have perhaps only a change of suffix, cf. § 42; *cīpus cīppus*; *cūpa, cūppa*, giving Sp. *cuba*, Fr. *cuve*, It. *cupola* and Sp. *copa*, Fr. *coupe*, It. *coppa*; *glūto glūtto*; *hōc erat hōcc erat*, S. 125-126 (Velius Longus and Pompeius); *Jūpiter Jūppiter*; perhaps *lītera līttera*; *mūcus mūccus*; *pūpa pūppa*; *stūpa stūppa*; *sūcus sūccus*. Cf. Stolz 222-225.

¹ The antiquity of double *t* is attested by an old inscription: *Lexique* 101.

² The single *c*, which prevailed in Romance, is common in Greek and Latin manuscripts: S. 129.

To these may perhaps be added: *bāca bacca*; *bāsium* **bāssium* (> It. *bascio*); *brāca bracca*; **būtis* (< βοῦτις) **büttis* (> It. *botte*); *cāseus* **cāsseus* (> It. *cascio*); *chāne* (< χάνη) *channe*; *conservāmus conservammus*, *Vok.* I, 261; *jubēmus jubemmus*, *Vok.* I, 261 (*iubimmus iobemmus*); *lītus littus*: *mīsi* **mīssi* (> It. *messi*).

Beside the two forms indicated, there was occasionally a third, seemingly a cross between the other two, having both the long vowel and the double consonant: *anguīla* (> Sp. *anguila*) + *anguilla* = **anguilla* (> It. *anguilla*); **stēla* (> Old Fr. *esteile*: cf. *Lexique* 95-98) + *stēlla* (> It. dialect *stēlla*) = **stēlla* (> It. *stēlla*; cf. *Vok.* I, 339, *stilla*); *strēna* (> Old Fr. *estreine*) + *strēnna* = **strēnna* (> It. *strenna*, Sic. *strinna*); *tōta* (> Sp. *toda*) + *tōtta* (Keil V, 392¹) = **tōtta* (> Pr. *tota*, Fr. *toute*).² So perhaps Diomedes' *littera*: *Archiv* XIV, 403.

164. In late Latin inscriptions and manuscripts a consonant was sometimes doubled before *r* or *u*: *acqua*, *bellua*, *frattrē*, *lattrones*, *mattrona*, *strennuor*, *suppra*, *suppremis*, *tennuis*. Cf. S. 122, Stolz 223. This doubling indicates in most cases a local pronunciation, prevalent in Africa or in Italy. According to F. G. Mohl, *Zs.* XXVI, 612, a consonant was doubled before *i* and *u* in the old Italic dialects: compare the Italian doubling in *fabbro*, *tenne*, *volle*, etc. In *aqua* the double consonant, attested by inscriptions and by Christian poets, was very widespread and prevailed in Italy, Rætia, and a large part of Gaul. See Clara Hürlimann, *Die Entwicklung des lateinischen aqua in den romanischen Sprachen*, reviewed by Meyer-Lübke in *Ltblt.* XXIV, 334.

¹ Consentius: "per adjectionem litteræ totum pro toto." Cf. *Gram.* I, 488, § 547; *Lexique* 98-104. According to *Lat. Spr.* 485, *tottus* was used by Pirminius.

² For **tüttus* see § 204(2).

2. VOWEL QUANTITY.

165. Originally, perhaps, long and short vowels were distinguished only by duration, the vowels having, for instance, the same sound in *lātus* and *lātus*, in *dēbet* and *rēdit*, in *vinum* and *minus*, in *nōmen* and *nōvus*, in *ūllus* and *mūltus*. However this may have been, long and short *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* were eventually differentiated, the short vowels being open while the long were close: *vendo sentio*, *pinus piper*, *solus solet*, *mulus gula*. That is, for the vowels of brief duration the tongue was not lifted quite so high as for those held longer. Later, in most of the Empire, *i* and *u* were allowed to drop still lower, and became *e* and *o*: see §§ 201, 208. In the case of *a*, which is made with the tongue lying flat in the bottom of the mouth, there was no such differentiation.

According to Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.* 467, the distinction was clear by the first century of our era. In *Vok.* I; 461, II, 146, III, 151, 212, is given the testimony of grammarians, all of later date; in *Vok.* II, 1 ff., the evidence of inscriptions. Marius Victorinus, about 350 A. D., distinguishes two *e*-sounds (S. 174, 182); Pompeius, about 480, cites Tertullian for an *e* similar to *i*, and several fifth century grammarians plainly distinguish *e* from *e* (S. 176, 182); from the second century on *æ* was often used for *e* in inscriptions (S. 183-184). Terentianus Maurus, by 250, distinguishes *o* from *o* (S. 175, 211), and so do other grammarians (S. 211). Writers do not clearly distinguish *i* and *i*, until Consentius, in the fifth century (S. 193); *e*, however, is often used for *i* in inscriptions, as *menus*, etc., and *i* for *e*, as *minses*, etc. (S. 195, 200-201). None of the grammarians apparently distinguished *u* and *u*, but *o* is used for *u* in inscriptions, as *ocsor*, *secondus*, etc. (S. 216-217).

166. In open syllables, if the word is used in verse, the quantity of the vowel is in general easily ascertained. In

closed syllables and in words not used by poets the quantity is in many cases doubtful; but it is sometimes given by grammarians, sometimes marked in inscriptions, sometimes conjectured from the etymology, and often shown by subsequent developments in the Romance languages. Occasionally the testimony conflicts: some inscriptions have CARISSIMO, etc., others KARESSIMO, etc. (S. 98, 99); Aulus Gellius prescribes *dictum*, but an inscription has DICTATORI (S. 105); Classic Latin offers *frigidus* (cf. FRIGIDA, S. 105), but the Romance languages, except Spanish, require a short *i*; some Romance forms support Classic *nūtrire*, others demand *ū*; *undĕcim*, *lūridus*, *ūltra* were apparently pronounced also with short *u* (S. 81-82); Fr. *loir* calls for **glĭrem* beside *glĕrem*.

a. VOWELS IN HIATUS.

167. Vowels in hiatus with the last syllable offer difficulties.

The Classic rule that a vowel before another vowel is short is not absolute even for verse, and the practice of poets was not always in accordance with spoken usage. *Dies*, *pīus* kept their originally long vowel, attested by inscriptions (DIES PIVS PIVS, S. 93; cf. *Substrate* II, 101-102); so *cūi*, proved by old inscriptions; and, at least in part, *fūi*, found in inscriptions, in Plautus, and in Ennius (S. 93): these preserved their close vowel in the Romance languages.

Naturally long vowels, then, probably kept their original quantity in hiatus. Naturally short vowels doubtless had their regular development also: *dĕus* = *dĕus*, although we do find the spellings *dius* and *mius* (S. 187); *dūo* > *dūi* = *dūi*; *vīa* = *vīa*. At a later stage, after *u* had become *o* (see §§ 165, 208), any *o* before *u* was apparently differentiated into *o*: *ōvum* > *oum* (cf. § 324) > *oum* (and also *ovum*, with a restoration of the *v* through the plural *ova*); *sūus* > *sous* > *sous* (S.

216, Pirson 16). There may have been other special variations in different countries. Cf. § 217.

For a different theory, see *Gram.* I, 246–248. For another still, see A. Horning in *Zs.* XXV, 341.

168. *Quia*, used for *quod* in late Latin, had a peculiar development from the sixth century on: before a vowel it was pronounced *qui'* and was confused with *quid*, which had begun to assume the functions of *quod* (see §§ 69, 82; cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 352–355); before a consonant, under the influence of *qua* and *qua(m)*, it became *qua*. Cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 357–390; J. Jeanjaquet, *Recherches sur l'origine de la conjonction 'que' et des formes romanes équivalentes*, 1894.

169. *Plüere* was supplanted in popular usage by *plövere* (*Lat. Spr.* 468). *Plüvia*, on the other hand, gave way to **plöja*. Cf. § 208, (4).

b. LENGTHENING BEFORE CONSONANTS.

170. According to some grammarians, vowels were lengthened before *j*, as in *ējus*, *mājor*. The Romance languages, however, point to open vowels in *pejor*, *Troja*. The apparent contradiction disappears if we accept the statement of Terentianus Maurus, 250 A. D., who says (S. 104) that the vowels in these words were short, but the *j* was doubled — that is, there was a glide from the vowel to the *j*, which prolonged the first syllable: not *pějor*, *Trōja*, but *pējior*, *Trōija*. We find in inscriptions such spellings as *Aiiax*, *coiux*, *cuius*, *eiis*, *maiioem*, etc.: S. 236, Pirson 74. Quintilian states that Cicero preferred *aiio*, *Maiiam*, with double *i* (S. 236). Velius Longus adds that as Cicero approved of *Aiiaem*, *Maiiam*, we should write *Troiia* also (S. 236). Priscian analyzes *pejus*, etc., into *pei-ius*, *ei-ius*, *mai-ius* (Édon 207).

171. When *n* was followed by a fricative (*f*, *j*, *s*, or *v*), it regularly fell early in Latin, and the preceding vowel was lengthened by compensation: *cēsor*, *cōjugi*, *cōventio*, *īferi*. But inasmuch as *n* occurs before *f*, *j*, and *v* only at the end of prefixes, it was usually restored by the analogy of the full forms *con-*, *in-*: so *infantem* through *indignus*, etc.; *conjugere* through *conducere*, etc.; *convenire* through *continere*, etc. Before *s*, however, *n* occurred in the middle of many words, and the fall was permanent, the *n* being restored only in compounds before initial *s*: *cōsul*, *īsula*, *mēsīs*, *spōsus*; but *insignare*. Cf. § 311.

It is altogether likely that the *n* fell through nasalization of the vowel: *consul* *cōnsul* *cōsul* *cōsul*. If so, all trace of the nasality disappeared, but the length and the close quality of the vowel remained. Cf. *Archiv* XIV, 400.

Romance and late Vulgar Latin words with *ns* (except in compounds as above) are either learned terms or new formations: so *pensare*, beside the old popular **pēsare*.

See S. 77-78; for the usage of Cicero and others, S. 86; for inscriptions, S. 89.

172. (1) Vowels were apparently lengthened before *ŋk*: *quīnque*, *sānctus*, etc. Cf. S. 78; for inscriptions, S. 90.

(2) Before *gn* vowels were lengthened according to Priscian (S. 91), and inscriptions mark length in *dignus*, *rēgnum*, *signum* (cf. *sigillum*), S. 91. The Romance languages, however, call for *dignus*, *lignum*, *pignus*, *pugnus*, *signum*. Priscian, who wrote in the sixth century, is a very late authority, and some philologists regard the passage in question as an interpolation of still later date; still the evidence of the inscriptions remains. According to Meyer-Lübke (*Gram.* I, 54, *Lat. Spr.* 467), the vowel was lengthened, but only after *i*, *ū* had become *ī*, *ū*, so that the result was *ī*, *ū*, not *ī*, *ū*; cf. BENEGNVS

in *C. I. L.* XII, 2153, which is doubtless equivalent to the BENIGNUS of *C. I. L.* XII, 722. This seems a very plausible explanation. C. D. Buck, however, in the *Classical Review* XV, 311, prefers to regard such forms as *dignus*, in so far as they existed at all, as due to a vulgar or local pronunciation.

c. DISAPPEARANCE OF THE OLD QUANTITY.

173. The difference in quantity was probably greater and more constant in accented than in unaccented vowels. The distinctions in quality, resulting from the original quantity, remained, in stressed syllables, through the Latin period and developed further in the Romance languages; in unaccented syllables the distinctions were doubtless weaker, and were often obliterated.

174. The old quantity itself was lost, for the most part during the Empire. It seems to have disappeared from *unstressed syllables* by the third or fourth century; but confusion set in as early as the second. The nominative singular *-is* and the plural *-ēs* were confounded by 150 A. D. (S. 75), and *æ* was often used for *ē* in inscriptions (S. 183-184: *benæ*, etc.). Terentianus Maurus, about 250, tells us that *au* is short in unaccented syllables, as in *aut* (S. 66). Other grammarians warn against quantitative mistakes. Servius says, in the fourth century, "*miseræ* dativus est non adverbium," etc. (S. 226). The poetry of Commodian, in the third or fourth century, seems to observe quantity in stressed and to neglect it in unstressed syllables, and we find numerous metrical errors in other late poets: cf. J. Cornu, *Versbau des Commodian* in *Bausteine* 576.

On the other hand, Latin words borrowed by the Britons, mostly in the third and fourth centuries, show, through a shift of accent, the preservation of quantity in post-tonic

syllables: Loth 72, 65. Moreover, Latin words borrowed by Old High German indicate a retention of long *i* and *u* before the accent: Franz.

√ It is possible that the quantity of unstressed vowels was better kept in the provinces than in Italy.

175. In *accented syllables* there are sporadic examples of confusion by the second century, as *æques* for *ēques* in 197 (S. 225); but probably the disappearance of the old distinction was not general before the fourth and fifth centuries, and not complete before the end of the sixth. Servius, in the fourth century, criticizes *Rōma* (S. 106). St. Augustine declares that "Afræ aures de correptione vocalium vel production non judicant" (*Lat. Spr.* 467). Pompeius and other grammarians blame the confusion of *æquus* and *ēquus* (S. 107, 178). Much late poetry disregards quantity altogether.

On the other hand, Latin words borrowed by the Britons from the second to the fifth century, but mostly in the third and fourth, show the preservation of the quantity of stressed vowels: Loth 64. Latin words in Anglo-Saxon, taken over in the fifth and sixth centuries, retain the quantity of vowels that bear the accent: Pogatscher. The Latin words in Old High German, too, distinguish by quantity *ī* and *ȳ*, *ē* and *ĕ*, *ō* and *ŏ*, *ū* and *ŭ*; *ē*, *ŏ* are distinguished by quality also, for *ē* > *ē* while *ĕ* > *e* or *i*, *ō* > *ū* or *ŏ* while *ŏ* > *o*: Franz.

d. DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW QUANTITY.

176. At the end of the Latin period a new system of quantity grew up, entirely diverse from the old, and based on the situation of the vowel. In most of the Empire accented vowels not in position were pronounced long, all other vowels short: *sānctō vālēs, vēndō vēnīs, dīxī plīcās, fōrmās fōrī, fructūs*

that phenomenon

gŭlĕ; cā-thĕ-drā tĕ-nĕ-brās; cō-r mĕ-l nō-s rĕ-m trĕ-s. In Spain and in some parts of Gaul, *all* stressed vowels were apparently long: *tĕmpŭs, pōrta*.

This new pronunciation doubtless sprang up with the disappearance of the old, which it displaced. Meyer-Lübke in *Gram.* I, 561-562, says that the development was different and independent in the several Romance languages; in *Einf.* 103-104, he describes it as common to all, but as posterior to the fifth century; in *Lat. Spr.* 467, he puts it in the fourth and fifth centuries.

177. It is likely that these new long vowels were pronounced in most regions with a circumflex intonation, which in the transition from Latin to the Romance languages resulted in diphthongization in a large part of the Empire, particularly in northern Gaul: *vĕnis* > It. *viene*, *gŭla* > Old Fr. *goule*, *cōr* > It. *cuor*, *nōs* > Fr. *nous*, *trĕs* > Old Fr. *treis*. Portugal, southern Gaul, Lombardy, and Sicily apparently did not participate in this early breaking; and the conditions of diphthongization were very diverse in different localities. The vowels most affected were *ē* and *ō*.

An isolated example, perhaps only a blunder, occurs in an inscription made a little before 120 A. D.: NĪĒPOS, beside NEPOTIS (A. Zimmermann in *Zs.* XXV, 735). In 419 A. D. we find VOBIT for *obiit* (S. 213).

D. VOWELS.

178. Latin had the vowels *ā, ē, ĭ, ō, ŭ*, and in unaccented syllables before a labial (as in *proximus*) a short *ü*; furthermore, the groups *æ, au, eu, ce*, also *ui*. We have seen (§ 165) that *ē, ĭ, ō, ŭ* were pronounced close, and *ē, ĭ, ō, ŭ* open, while *ā* was not affected by quantity. We shall see presently

(§§ 209, 210) that $a > e$ and $ae > e$, while *au*, *eu* generally remained *āu*; *ēu* (*cāutus*, *cēu*), and *ui* (as in *cui*) was *ūi*.

179. The foreign vowels of borrowed words were assimilated in some fashion to the Latin system. In the few Celtic words that were taken over there are no important peculiarities. In the Germanic vocabulary there is not much to be noted: *ai* in words adopted early apparently became *a*, as **waiðanjan* > **wadaniane*; *eu* (or *iu*) appears in *treuwa* (or *triuwa*), which became **trewa*; *iu* is found in *skiuhan* > **skivare*.

The history of Greek vowels is very complicated:—

GREEK VOWELS.

180. According to Quintilian (Édon 64–65), the Greek letters were sounded as in Greek. This pronunciation was doubtless the ideal of people of fashion, but popular speech substituted for unfamiliar vowels the sounds of the vernacular. The inconsistencies in this substitution arise partly from the different dates at which words were borrowed, partly from the channel (written or oral) through which they came, and partly from the various pronunciations of the vowels in the several Greek dialects.

181. *A*, long or short, was pronounced *ā*: Φᾶσις > *Phāsis*, φάλαγξ > *phālanx*.

182. *H* was in Greek originally a long *ē*, but early in our era it became *i*. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ē*: ἀποθήκη > *apothēca* > It. *bottega*; so in some late words, as βλασφημία > *blasphēmia* > It. *bestemmia*. In words of more popular origin it often had the Greek open sound: ἐκκλησία > *ecclēsia*; σπηία > *sēpia*, but also *sēpia* > It. *seppia*; σκηνή > *scēna* *scēna*. Late words often show *i*: ἀσκητής > *ascitis*, *Per*.

40, 1, etc.; ἐκκλησία > *ecclisia*, Neumann 9; μοναστήριον > *monastirium*, μυστήριον > *mistirium*, etc., Claussen 854-855; ταπήτιον > Fr. *tapis*, Pr. *tapit*.

183. *E* was close in some Greek dialects, open in others. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ē*: γένεσις > *gēnēsis*. In popular words it was sometimes close, sometimes open: ἔρμος > *er'mus* *er'mus* > It. *ermo*, Sp. *yermo*; κέδρος > *cedrus* > It. *cedro*; πέπερι > *pēper*; Στέφανος > *Stephanus* *Stephanus*. Cf. Claussen 853-854.

184. *I*, at least in the principal dialects, seems to have had a very open sound, even when long. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ī*: φῖμος > *phīmus*; φίλος > *phīlus*. In popular words *ī* apparently became *ī*, later *e* or *ε*; *ī* apparently became *ē*, later often *e*: ἀρθριτικός > *arthriticus* > It. *artetico*; ἀρτεμισία > *artemisia* > Old Fr. *armēise*; βωλήτης > *boletus*; ὀργανός > It. *regamo*; χρίσμα > *chrīma* > It. *cresima*, Old Fr. *cresme*; Χριστός > *Chrīstus* *Chrestus*, cf. *Christianus* *Chrestianus*; etc.; — ἀντίφωνος > **antefona* > Old Fr. *antiefne*; βλίτον > *blitum* > It. *bieta*; μίνθη > *menta* > It. *menta*, Sp. *mienta*; σίναπι > *sinapi* > It. *senape*; etc. Cf. Claussen 855-857.

185. *Ω* was probably *ō*, but perhaps dialectically *ō* (cf. ὥρα > *hōra*). In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ō*: φώκη > *phōca*. In popular words it apparently became *o*, occasionally *u*: γλώσσα > It. *chiōsa*; πτωχός > It. *pītocco*; τρώκτης > *trūcta*. Cf. Claussen 869-870.

186. *O* in most dialects was *ō*. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ō*: κόφινος > *cōphīnus*; ὀρφανός > *ōrphānus*. In popular words it was generally close, but sometimes open, and occasionally the same word had both pronunciations: ἀμόργη > *amūrca*; δοχή > *dōga* > It. *doga*, etc.; κόμμι > *gūmmi*; ὁσμή > ? It. *orma*; πορφύρα > *pūrphūra*; τόρνος > *tōrnus* > It.

torno, etc.; — κόγχη > *cōncha*; στροφή > *strōphus*; χορδή > *chōrda*; — κόλαφος > *cōlaphus cōlaphus*. Cf. Claussen 857–860.

187. *Y* was originally pronounced *u*; later in Attic and Ionic it became *ū*, which subsequently, in the 9th or 10th century, was unrounded into *i*.

In the older borrowed words, perhaps taken mostly from Doric (Claussen 865), *υ* regularly was assimilated to Latin *u* (S. 219–221): βύρσα > *būrsa*; κρίπτη > *crūpta*; κύμβη > *cūmba*; μύλλος > *mūllus*; μύρτος > *mūrta*, *App. Pr.*; πύξος > *būxus*. *It. busta* seems to represent a peculiar local development: cf. *buxida* (= *pyxis*) in Theodorus Priscianus and in glosses, *Lat. Spr.* 468. Cf. *Zefurus*, Audollent 536; “*tymum non tumum*,” *App. Pr.*; *Olumpus*, etc., Pirson 39. In τρυάνη > *trūina* the *υ* was shortened. In ἀγκῦρα > *ancōra*, στύραξ > *stōrax*, and a few other words the *υ* for some reason became *ō*; these probably have nothing to do with καλύπτρα > *It. calotta*, κρίπτη > *It. grotta*, μῦθος > *It. motto*, in which the *ο* is a later local development. For some words we find an occasional spelling *œ*, which may represent a Greek dialect pronunciation between *u* and *ū*: γῦρος > *gyrus gærus*; Μυσία > *Mysia Mæsia*; etc.

Towards the end of the Republic, cultivated people adopted for Greek words the Ionic-Attic pronunciation, which is generally represented, in the case of *υ*, by the spelling *y*. Cicero says: “*Burrum semper Ennius, nunquam Pyrrhum*” (S. 221). According to Cassiodorus, *u* is the spelling in some words, *y* in others (S. 221). In the *App. Pr.* we find: “*Marsyas non Marsuas*,” “*myrta non murta*,” “*porphyreticum marmor non purpureticum marmor*,” “*tymum non tumum*.” Among the common people the unfamiliar *ū* was assimilated to *i*. The spelling *i* occurs sometimes before Augustus: ἀγκύλια > *ancilia*; Ὀδυσσεΐα > *Odissia*, Livius Andronicus; Ὀλυσσεύς > *Ulixes*. In inscriptions we find *misteriis*, etc., S. 221. The *App. Pr.*

has "*gyrus non girus*." Cf. *giro*, *misterii*, etc., Bechtel 76-77; *giret*, Audollent 535; *Frigia*, etc., Pirson 39. This *i*, if long, was usually pronounced *î*; if short, *î*, which became *ε*: γῦρος > It. *giro*; κῦμα > It. *cima*; σῦριγγα > It. *scilinga*; — κύκνος > It. *cecino*; etc. For σῦκωτόν, see § 141; γῆφος > It. *gesso* is probably a local development. Κυ frequently became *qui*: κολοκύντη > *coloquinta*, etc.; cf. § 223.

The modern Greek pronunciation is represented by some Romance words: ἀμυλον > It. *amido*; βυζαντίς > It. *bisante*; τύμπανον > Fr. *timbre*; etc.

Cf. Claussen 860-869.

188. *AI* originally became *ai*, as in Αἴας > *Aiax*, Μαῖα > *Maia*; later *æ* (as in αἰγίς > *ægis*), which came to be pronounced *ε*, as in Αἰθιοπία > *Æthiopia Ethiôpia*. Cf. Claussen 871-872.

189. *AY* > *au*: θησαυρός > *thesaurus*. Cf. Claussen 872-873.

190. *EI* was doubtless originally pronounced *ei* in Greek, then, from the sixth to the fourth century B. C., *ē*; finally, about the third century, *î*, except before vowels. In Latin, *ei* became *î* before consonants, *ē* or *î* before vowels; εἰδωλον > *idolum*; παράδεισος > *paradisus*; πειρατής > *pīrāta*; — Κλειώ > *Clīo*; Μήδεια > *Medēa*. In -εος -εα -ειον, the penult was often shortened: πλατῆα > *platēa*. Cf. Claussen 873-875.

191. *EY* generally became *eu*: Εὐρος > *Eurus*. Such forms as "*ermēneumata non erminomata*" (*App. Pr.*), *toreomatum* from τόρευμα, may be merely misspellings: cf. *Cleopatra* for *Cleopat̄ra*. Some Romance forms show *u*: κέλευσμα > ? It. *ciuma*. Cf. Claussen 875-877.

192. *OI* originally became *oi*, as in ποιή > *poīna*; later *æ* (as in *phæna*), which came to be pronounced *ε*, as in Φοῖβος > *Phæbus Phebus* (S. 277). Sometimes, however, it became *o*,

as in ποιητής > *poëta*. *Cimiterium cymiterium*, for *cœmeterium* < κοιμητήριον, perhaps indicates an ignorant confusion of *ü* and *ö*. Cf. Claussen 877-878.

Like *oi, ōi* became *æ*: κωμῳδία > *comædia*.

193. *OY* was doubtless originally pronounced *ou* in Greek, then *ō*, then *ū*. In Latin it usually became *ū*: βροῦχος > *brūchus*; οὐρανός > *Ūrānus*. Cf. Claussen 878-879.

1. ACCENTED VOWELS.

a. SINGLE VOWELS.

N.B.—For vowels in hiatus, see § 167. For nasal vowels, see § 171.

a

194. *A* regularly remained unchanged in the greater part of the Empire: *caput, dare, factum, latus, manus, patrem, tantus*. But in Gaul, especially in the north, it probably had a forward pronunciation tending somewhat toward *ɛ*: cf. *crepere* (probably for *crepare*) in *Gl. Reich.*; and *agnetus* (for *agnātus*?) in *Fredegarius*, Haag 6.

195. Some words had a peculiar development:—

(1) Beside *alācrem* the Romance languages seem to postulate *alēcrem* and *alɛcrem*. It is possible that *ālēcer* (whence *alācrem*) > **ālɛcer* (whence *alɛcrem*), then **alɛcer* (whence *alɛcrem alɛcrem*).

(2) For the suffix *-arius*, see § 39, *-arius*.

(3) Beside *cērāsus* (< κέρασος) there must have been a Latin **cērēsu*. So beside **cērāsēsus*, which was used in southern Italy, Rome, and Sardinia, there was a *cērēsēsus*, which was used elsewhere: *Lat. Spr.* 468; cf. *Substrate I*, 544.

(4) Beside *grāvis* there was a *grēvis*, under the influence of *lēvis*: GREVE, *Lat. Spr.* 468; cf. *Substrate II*, 441.

(5) Beside *mālum* (< Doric μᾶλον) there was a *mēlum* (< μῆλον), used by Petronius and others: *Lat. Spr.* 468.

(6) Beside *vacuus* there was a *vōcuus*: *vocuam*, *C. I. L.* VI, 1527 d 33; cf. *vocatio*, *C. I. L.* I, 198, etc. Cf. S. 171, Olcott 33. The *o* was probably

original; old *vocāre*, *vocāvus* regularly became *vacāre*, *vactvus* (> *vacuus*), whence by analogy *vācat* for *vocat*: *Lat. Spr.* 466. By a change of suffix *vōcūus* became **vōctūus*.

δ

196. Long *e*, which was pronounced *ē* (§ 165), probably remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin, at least in most regions: *debēre*, *dēbet*, *habētis*, *mercēdem*, *vēndere*, *vērū*.

In Sicily, Calabria, and southern Apulia *ē* has become *i*. In old Oscan, which was spoken in nearly the same region, *ē* became *i* in late Republican times, as in *cinsum*, *dibeto*, etc. (*Lexique* 106). There is, however, no proof of historical connection between the phenomena: cf. *Lat. Spr.* 468.

197. *I* is very often used for *ē* in inscriptions and late writings: Gregory the Great has *crudilitas*, *dulcido*, *ficit*, *filix*, *minsam*, *vindo*, etc., *-ido* for *-edo*, *-isco* for *-esco*, *-isimus* for *-esimus*; and conversely *ver* for *vir*, etc.: *Sepulcri* 193-194. Cf. *S.* 189-190; Carnoy 15 ff. (*ficet* in the 3d century, etc.). Also *Vok.*: for the confusion of *-ēre* and *-īre*, I, 260ff., II, 69ff.; for *-ēsko* and *-īsko*, I, 359-364; for *-ēlis* and *-īlis*, *-ēlius* and *-īlius*, I, 287-289; for *vindimia* instead of *vindēmia*, I, 328, III, 127 (*Lexique* 115). These spellings are due in the main to the identity of *ē* and *ī* in late pronunciation: see § 165.

A. *Sepulcri*, in *Studi Medievali* I, 614-615, conjectures that *s* + consonant may have tended to raise *ē* to *i*, *o* to *u*. This would account for *bistia* (= *bēstia*) found in late Latin, *Studi Medievali* I, 613; for *crisco* and other verbs in *-isco* for *-esco*; for *adimplisti*, etc.; for *fistus*, etc.;—also for *colustra*; for *co-gnusco* and other verbs in *-usco* for *-ōsco*. Some of the *-ēsko* > *-īsko* cases are surely due to a shift of conjugation: see §§ 414-415.

198. In Gaul this substitution of *i* for *ē* was so very common that it must signify something. It probably indicates an

extremely close pronunciation of the *e* (cf. *o*); later, in northern Gaul, this very high *e* > *ei* (*vērūm* > Old Fr. *veir*): *Lat. Spr.* 468. It is interesting to note that Celtic *ē* also became *i*: Dottin 99.

Lexique 104-105: *criscit, riges, tris, vexit*, etc. Pirson 2-5: *ficerent, ficit, requiiscit, rictu, rigna*, etc. Neumann 10-11: *adoliscens, minses, quiiscit, rigna*. Bon. 106-113: *minse, quinquaginsima*, etc. Haag 8-9: *adoliscens, criscens, ingraviscente, seniscit, tepiscit; delitus, fedilis, habitur, minsis, sidibus, stilla*, etc. Cf. *Vok. I*, 311 ff.

ø

199. Short *e*, which was pronounced *ø* (see § 165), remained unchanged: *bēne, ĕxit, fĕrrum, fĕrus, fĕsta, tĕneo, vĕnit*.

For the development of diphthongs, see § 177.

(1) According to *Lat. Spr.* 466, *voster*, which supplanted *vester*, is to be regarded as a new formation on the model of *noster* rather than as the old form.

i

200. Long *i*, pronounced *î* (§ 165), remained unchanged: *audĭre, dico, mille, quĭnque* (*Substrate I*, 546), *vĭlla, vĭnum*.

(1) *Frĭgidus*, except in Spain, must have become **frĭgidus* (> *frĭgdus*), perhaps through association with *rigĭdus*. Cf. § 166.

(2) Beside *ĭlex* there was an *ēlex*, found in Gregory of Tours: *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* CXV, 397. Cf. *Lexique* 114.

(3) Beside *sĭcula* there was a *sĕcula* (*Lexique* 119) > It. *segolo*. Varro (*Lexique* 119) mentions a rustic *spĕca* for *spĭca*. It. *stegola*, Sp. and Port. *esteva* postulate **stĕva* for *stĭva*; cf. *C. G. L.* IV, 177, l. 1.

(4) For *î*, see § 229, (4).

ɪ

201. Short *i*, pronounced *ɪ* (§ 165), became, doubtless by the third century and sporadically earlier, *e* in nearly all the Empire: *bĭbo, cĭrculus, ĭlle, mĭnus, pĭscem, sĭtis, vĭtium*. The spelling *e* for *ɪ* is common from the third century on: *frecare*,

legare, menus, etc., S. 200-201; *elud* (= *illud*), Audolent 535; *minester*, etc., Pirson 8-10; *karessemo*, etc., Carnoy 15 ff.; *minester, sebe, semul, sene, vea*, Neumann 23-25; *corregia*, etc., R. 463; *accepere, trea*, etc., Bon. 117-123; *æteneris, trebus*, etc., Haag 11. Conversely *i* is often used for *ē* (cf. §§ 197, 198): *minses*, etc., S. 195; *benivolus*, etc., R. 463. Quintilian and Varro mention (S. 166) a rustic *e* for *ī*, attested also by inscriptions (S. 202).

In Sardinia and a part of Corsica this change did not take place, and both *ī* and *ī* > *i*. These two islands were taken from Rome by the Vandals in 458 and added to the African kingdom; after that they were perhaps isolated: *Einf.* 106.

In southern Italy *e* from *ī*, like *e* from *ē*, became *i*: cf. § 196.

(1) Beside *camīsia* there was a *camīsia*: *Substrate* I, 541.

(2) Beside *śmul* there was a **śmul*, perhaps through the analogy of *śmel*: *Lat. Spr.* 468.

(3) *Sinīster* was replaced by *sinēxter*, under the influence of *dēxter*: *Lat. Spr.* 469.

ō

202. Long *o*, pronounced *ō* (§ 165), remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin, at least in most regions: *colōrem, fōrma, hōra, nōmen, sōlus, spōnsus*. In Sicily, Calabria, and southern Apulia *ō* has become *u*, as it did in old Oscan: cf. the change of *e* to *i*, § 196.

For *agnusco, cognusco*, etc., used by Gregory the Great and others, see the end of § 197. The popular *ūstium* for *ōstium* (*Lat. Spr.* 468; *Studi Medievali* I, 613) is perhaps to be explained in this way.

For *ou* > *ou*, see § 167.

203. The spelling *u* for *ō* is very common in Gaul (*Lat. Spr.* 468): *furma*, etc., S. 214; *amure*, etc., Pirson 13; *victurias*, ✓

etc., Bon. 126-130; *cognusco, gluria, nun, puni*, etc., Haag 13. It probably represents a very close sound, which later, in northern Gaul, became *ou* or *u*: *cōrtem* > Old Fr. *court*. Cf. § 198.

204. There are a few peculiar cases:—

(1) Fr. and Sp. *meuble, mueble* postulate *q* in *mōbilis*, presumably through the analogy of *mōveo*. Cf. § 217.

(2) Beside *tōtus* and *tottus* (§ 163), some of the Romance forms point to **tūttus* or **tūctus*, or at least to a nom. pl. **tūtti* or **tūcti*: It. sg. *tutto*, pl. *tutti*; Neapolitan sg. *totto*, pl. *tutto*; old Fr., Pr. sg. *tot*, pl. *tuit*. The Italian *tutto* may have come through the plural. Such a form seems to be attested by the *Gl. Cassel*: “aiatutti. uuela alle,” where *tutti* is defined as *alle*. No satisfactory explanation has been proposed; the most plausible, perhaps, is that of Mohl, *Lexique* 102-104, namely, the influence of *cūncti* on *tōti*. Cf. *Zs.* XXXIII, 143.

ø

205. Short *o*, pronounced *ø* (§ 165), remained unchanged: *bōnus, fōlia, fōris, fōrum, lōcus, mōrtem, sōlet, sōrtem*. The rustic Latin *funtes, frundes* (for *fōntes, frōndes*) are perhaps connected with Italian *fonte* and other words containing *ø* for *o* before *n* + dental.

U is occasionally used for *ø* in inscriptions: *lucus*, etc., S. 211-212. Cf. *App. Pr.*, “*formica non furmica*.”

For the development of diphthongs, see § 177.

ü

206. Long *u*, pronounced *ü* (§ 165), remained unchanged in most of the Empire: *cūra, dūrus, nūllus, ūna*. Grammarians mention the protrusion of the lips: S. 216.

But in Gaul, a large part of northern Italy, and western Rætia it was probably formed a little forward of its normal position. It was certainly not *ü*, cf. K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de langue française* I, § 187; but it doubtless slightly approached it. This pronunciation may have been due to the

linguistic habits of the Celts: cf. Windisch 396-397. Celtic $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ in Great Britain by the second century; in Latin words borrowed by the Celts \bar{u} is generally treated like Celtic \bar{o} ($m\bar{u}rus > mur$), but in a few, presumably taken very early, $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ ($c\bar{u}pa > cib$, $cr\bar{u}dus > criz$): Loth 67-68.

207. The following special cases are to be noted:—

- (1) Beside *lūrīdus* there probably was a **lūrdus*: Substrate III, 517.
- (2) *Nūptia*, through the analogy of **nūvius* ("bridegroom," from *nūvus*) and *nūra*, became *nūptia*: Lat. Spr. 469. Cf. Substrate IV, 134.
- (3) Beside *pūmex* there was a *pōmex*: Bon. 136, *pomice*. Cf. F. G. Mohl in Zs. XXVI, 617-618.

ü

208. Short *u*, pronounced *ü* (§ 165), became, probably by the fourth century or earlier, *o* in most of the Empire: *būcca*, *cūlpa*, *gūla*, *rūptus*, *ūnda*. The spelling *o* is common in late documents: "*columna non colomna*," "*turma non torma*" (cf. "*coluber non colober*," "*formosus non formunsus*," "*puella non poella*"), App. Pr.; *tomolus*, etc., Pirson 15-17; *tonica*, etc., Bon. 132-135; *corso*, *covetum* (= *cūbitum*), *toneca*, Haag 14. The old spelling *o* for *u* after *v* (*voltus*, *servos*, etc.), which lasted down into the Empire, is perhaps only orthographic: Lat. Spr. 464.

In Sardinia, a part of Corsica, Albania, and Dacia this change did not take place, and both \bar{u} and $\bar{ü} > u$: Lat. Spr. 467.

For *ou > ou*, see § 167.

- (1) Beside *angŭstia* there must have been **angōstia*.
- (2) Fr. *couleuvre*, *fleuve*, *jeune* call for local *o* in *colūbra*, *flūvium*, *jūvĕnis*. There are other local irregularities. Cf. § 217.
- (3) In place of *nūrus* we find *nōrus* (R. 465) and *nōra* (S. 216), due to the analogy of *sōror* and **nōvia* ("bride," from *nōvus*).
- (4) Instead of *plūere* and *plūvia* people said *plōvere* (used by Petronius and others) and **plōja*: Lat. Spr. 468. Cf. §§ 169, 217.

b. DIPHTHONGS.

æ

209. *Æ* was originally written and pronounced *ai*, but through the mutual attraction of its two parts it became *æ*, later *ē*: *cæcus*, *cælum*, *quæro*.

In certain words a vulgar and dialect pronunciation *ē*, common to Volscian and Faliscan (Hammer 7, 8), came into general use: *fēnum*, *prēda*, *sēpes*, *sēptum*, *sēta*. Cf. S. 166–168, 188; Carnoy 79–80. For *fēnum* *fænum*, *prēda* *præda*, *sēpes* *sæpes* both forms were preserved. Hence, by analogy, such spellings as *fæcit*, etc., S. 190. Cf. Neumann 13 (and *Fortsetzung* 21–23): *fæmina*, *quæti*, etc.

210. The regular change of *æ* to *ē* took place largely in Republican times in unaccented syllables; in stressed syllables in the first century of our era and later. *E* for *æ* in dative endings occurs early: Corssen I, 687 ff. About the middle of the first century B. C., when Varro cited *edus* for *hædus* as a rural form, stressed *æ* was probably still a diphthong in the city but had become *ē* in rustic Latium; some hundred years later *ē* came into the city and pervaded the provinces: *Lat. Spr.* 465. Terentius Scaurus, in the first century, says that *æ* represents the sound better than *ai*: S. 224. *E* is found early in Campania, especially in Pompeii (*presta*, etc.): S. 225. In Spanish inscriptions *e* occurs from the first century on (Carnoy 78): *questus* (2d century), etc., Carnoy 69–84. It was probably general everywhere by the second century: *Einf.* § 78. Pompeius blames the confusion of *æquus* and *ēquus*: S. 178. The spelling *e* for *æ* was usual in unaccented syllables (as *sante*) before the third century, in stressed syllables (as *questor*) from the fourth century on; it may be called regular by the fifth century: S. 178, 225. Cf. Bechtel

75-76: *cedat, grece*, etc. Conversely *æ* was often erroneously used for *ě* (S. 183-184) and for Greek *η* (as *scænam, Lexique* 104).

au

211. *Au*, pronounced *áu*, generally remained in Vulgar Latin: *aura, gaudium, taurus*. In Rumanian and Provençal it was preserved as *au*, in Portuguese as *ou*; its existence in the earliest stage of French is proved by the treatment of *c* in *causa* > *chose*; in Italian and Spanish it did not become *o* until original *o* had broken into *uo* or *ue*.

(1) The spellings *Cladius, Glacus, Scarus*, etc., with *a* for *au* when there is an *u* in the next syllable, are pretty common in various countries: S. 223; Carnoy 86-95. Perhaps they represent a provincial pronunciation, or possibly they are only orthographic.

(2) *Clūdo* for *claudio* is common, coming through derivatives, such as *occlūdo*: *Vok.* II, 304; Carnoy 100 (*cludo* in two Sp. inscriptions of the 1st and 2d centuries); Bayard 6. Cf. Carnoy 85-86 (*clusa*, etc.).

212. Umbrian and Faliscan had *o* in place of Latin *au*: Hammer 4-5, 8. So, in general, the dialects of northern and central Italy: *Chronologie* 158-164. There are some examples in Pompeii, in Oscan territory, where *au* was normally preserved; this pronunciation was used also in the country around Rome, and in the first and second centuries B.C. crept into the city, where it was used by the lower classes: *Lat. Spr.* 465-466. In Umbrian inscriptions we find *toru*, etc.: Hammer 4. In Latin, *Clodius* and *Plotus* are common in first century inscriptions: Carnoy 85, Pirson 27. *Closa*, etc., occur in the second century: Carnoy 85.

The grammarians — Probus, Diomedes, Festus, and others — speak of a rustic or archaic *o* for *au*: Corssen I, 655-663; *Vok.* II, 301 ff.; S. 162-164; Hammer 15-19. Festus cites *orum*; Priscian, *cotes, ostrum, plostrum*: Carnoy 95. Cf. *App. Pr.*, “*auris non oricla*”; R. 464, *coda, orata, orum*.

Conversely, *au* was occasionally used for *ō* (*Chronologie* 160): Festus, *ausculum*; Marius Victorinus, "*sorex vel saurex*." Cf. **aucidere* for *occidere*, postulated by some Romance forms.

213. This rustic and vulgar *ō*, — which was pronounced *o*, while the Romance *o* from *au* was *o*, — was generally adopted in Vulgar Latin in a few words: *cōda*; *fōces*; **ōt* (cf. Umbrian *ote*, Hammer 4) = *aut*; *plōdere*. Cf. Classic *fauces*, *suffōco*; *plaudo*, *explōdo*; *si audes*, *sōdes*. Cicero used *loreola*, *oricta*, *plodo*, *pollulum*: Carnoy 95. *Ōla*, *cōdex*, *cōles* = *caulis*, *lōtus*, *plōtus* occur also.

eu

214. *Eu*, pronounced *ēu* (as in *ceu*, *eu*, *Europa*, *eurus*, *ehēu*, *heu*, *neu*, *neuter*, *seu*), was not preserved in any popular words. Cf. S. 228.

œ

215. *Œ* was originally written and pronounced *oi*, but through the mutual attraction of its two parts it became presumably *ō*, later *e*: *cœpi*, *pœna*, *pœnitet*. It may be that the intermediate stage is reflected by the spelling *PHYEBÆ* for *Phæbe*, S. 227.

E is attested by inscriptions in the first century of our era: *æperint*, Carnoy 84; *Phebus*, *C. I. L.* IV, 1890; etc. Cf. S. 227, *Lat. Spr.* 464. In the *Per.* we find *amēnus*, *cepi*, etc., Bechtel 76. The confusion of *æ* and *e* is mentioned by late grammarians: S. 227. In late Latin a bad spelling, *æ* for *æ* and *e*, became popular: *cæcus*, *cælum*, *cæmenta*, *fæmina*, *fænum*, *mærore*, *mæstus*, *pænates*. Cf. S. 228; *Vok.* II, 293 ff.

ui

216. *Ui*, pronounced *ūi*, was preserved: *cūi*, *hūic*, *illūi*. For the development of *fui*, see § 431.

c. INFLUENCE OF LABIALS.

217. According to some philologists, a following labial tends to open a vowel: *colūbra* > **colōbra*, *flūvium* > **flōvium*, *jūvēnis* > **jōvenis*, *mōbilis* > **mōbilis*, *ōvum* > **ovum*, *plūēre* > *plōvēre*, etc. A general influence of this kind can hardly be regarded as proved for any combination except *ou*, which became *ou*: see § 167.

S. Pieri, *La vocal tonica alterata dal contatto d'una consonante labiale* in *Archivio glottologico italiano* XV, 457, maintains that *i*, *e*, *o*, *u* were lowered one stage—to *ɛ*, *ɛ*, *o*, *o*—by a preceding or following labial, even if it was separated from the vowel by a liquid. Although many examples are cited, the evidence is not convincing. For a criticism of the theory, see G. Ascoli, *Osservazioni al precedente lavoro*, *ibid.*, p. 476. The discussion is continued by Pieri, *La vocal tonica alterata da una consonante labiale* in *Zs.* XXVII, 579.

d. CLERICAL LATIN.

218. In clerical Latin the vowels were probably pronounced for the most part as in vulgar speech, until the reforms of Charlemagne. After that, in general, *ā* = *a*, *ē* = *e*, *ī* = *i*, *ō* = *o*, *ū* = *u* (or *ü*), *æ* and *œ* = *e*, *au* = *o* or *au*.

2. UNACCENTED VOWELS.

N. B.—For secondary stress, see §§ 153–155.

219. Among unstressed vowels, those of the first syllable had most resistance, possibly through a lingering influence of the Old Latin accent: cf. § 134.

The vowels of the final syllable lost much of their distinctness, but did not fall, except sporadically, until long after the Vulgar Latin period, and then only in a part of the Empire.

Grammarians testify to the confusion of *o* and *u*: S. 212. *Quase, side* are found in place of *quasi, sibi*: S. 199-200. According to Quintilian I, iv, 7, "in *here* neque *e* plane nequi *i* auditur."

Weakest were medial vowels immediately following the secondary or the primary stress. In early Latin there was an inclination to syncope: *ar(i)dōrem, av(i)dēre, bāl(i)nēum, cal(e)fācēre, jūr(i)go*, etc. This tendency continued, in moderation, in Classic and Vulgar Latin: *cal(i)dus, ōc(u)lus, frig(i)daria, vir(i)dis*, etc. In inscriptions we find such forms as *infri, vetranus*: S. 251.

For the confusion of unaccented *e* and *i*, see Pirson, 30-36, 47-48; for *o* and *u*, see Pirson 41-47. Fredegarius is very uncertain in his use of unstressed vowels: Haag 15-24.

220. *Ū* was employed only before labials, in unaccented syllables: cf. S. 196-198, 203-208; Lindsay 25-26, 35; *Franz.* I, 21-24. During the Classic period it generally became *ī*: *decumus* > *decimus*, *maxumus* > *maximus*, *pontufex* > *pontifex*, *quodlubet* > *quodlibet*, etc.; cf. *Lat. Spr.* 466. In Spanish inscriptions we find *maximus*, etc., spelled both with *u* and with *i*: Carnoy 65-69.

Sūmus, being sometimes accented, developed two forms, *sūmus* and *simus*. The former was the one generally adopted in Classic Latin, but *simus* was favored by Augustus and by some purists of his time (Lindsay 29). According to Marius Victorinus (Keil VI, 9), "Messala, Brutus, Agrippa pro *sumus simus* scripserunt." In the vulgar speech *simus* seems to have prevailed in Italy and southern Gaul. Cf. § 419, (1).

221. In general Latin quantity did not sensibly affect the quality of unstressed vowels, except in initial syllables, and even there the difference must have been small. In final syllables, however, *ī* was certainly distinct from *ī*: *sentīs*,

senti > It. *senti*, *sente*; *fēci*, *fēcīt* > Pr. *fīs*, *fēs*. In *sibi*, *tibi* the final vowel was sometimes long, sometimes short.

a. UNACCENTED VOWELS IN HIATUS.

222. *I* and *u* followed by a vowel and beginning a syllable were apparently pronounced as consonants from the earliest times. Quintilian says that *u* and *i* in *uos* and *iam* are not vowels: S. 232. Quintilian and Velius Longus cite the spellings *Aiiax*, *aiio*, *Maiiam* as approved by Cicero: S. 236. Bonnet notes that *a*, not *ab*, is used before *Joseph*, *Judeis*, etc. These, then, will be treated as consonants, and will be left out of consideration in the present chapter.

223. After gutturals, *u* followed by a vowel was originally a vowel itself, but lost its syllabic value in early Classic times: *acua* > *aqua*, *distinguere* > *distinguere*. So it was in *qualis*, *quæro*, *quem*, *qui*. In Greek transliterations *κν* for *qui* (as in *ἀκύκλῆς*) is very common: Eckinger 123-125; cf. § 187.

In perfects, however, such as *nocuit*, *placuit*, the *u* was apparently not reduced to a semivowel until the end of the Classic period.

In some other words the syllabic value of *u* was kept, at least in theory, rather late: Velius Longus distinguishes *aquam* from *acuam*, S. 234; *App. Pr.*, "*vacua* non *vaqua*," "*vacui* non *vaqui*."

224. Otherwise, *e*, *i*, and *u* in hiatus with following vowels, lost their syllabic value probably by the first century of our era, and sporadically earlier. Occasional examples (such as *dormio*, *facias*, *fluviūrum*) are found in Ennius, Plautus, Lucilius, Lucretius, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, and Seneca: e.g., *deorsum* in Lucretius; *vindemiator* in Horace; *abiete*, *abietibus* in Virgil. *Italia* counts as three syllables in poets of the

early Empire. Cf. S. 232. Valerius Probus has *parietibus*: Édon 208. Consentius declares that trisyllabic *solvit* and four-syllable *induruit* are barbarisms; Cæsellius is undecided whether *tenuis* has three syllables or two: S. 234. *Suavis*, however, was used as a trisyllable by Sedulius in the fifth century; it was probably a semi-learned word, as it became *soef* in French, *soave* in Italian.

The pronunciation *ɛ*, *i*, *u* was probably regular in popular speech by the first century or before; by the third century, with a narrowing of the mouth-passage, the semivowels presumably developed into the fricative consonants *y* and *w*: S. 231-232. So *alea* > *alea* > *alja*, *filius* > *filius* > *filjus*, *sapui* > *sapui* > *sapwi*. In the same way *filolus* > *filjólus* (§ 136), *tenueram* > *ténweram* (§ 137); likewise *eccu'hic* > **eccwic*, *eccu'ista* > **ecwista* (§ 65), etc. We have, then, in late Latin, a new *y* and a new *w*.

Hence arises, in late Latin spelling, a great confusion of *e* and *i* in hiatus: CAPRIOLVS (cf. § 136), S. 187; Caper, "non *iamus* sed *eamus*," "sobrius per *i* non per *e* scribendum," Keil VII, 106, 103; *aleum*, *calcius*, *cavia*, *coelia*, *fasiolus*, *lancia*, *lintium*, *noxeus*, *solia*, *vinia*, App. Pr.; *abias*, *abiat*, *exiat*, *Lauriat*, *valiat*, Audollent 535; *palleum*, etc., R. 463; *calciare*, *liniamenta*, Bayard 4; *eacit* (= *jacet*), *eam* (= *jam*), Vok. II, 43; cf. Carnoy 33-35.

225. But the combinations *ɛɛ*, *ie*, *oo*, *uo* developed differently, *ɛɛ* and *ie* apparently being contracted into *ē*, *oo* and *uo* into *ō*, at an early date: *arētem* (§ 136) > *arētem* (Varro, "*ares veteres pro aries dixisse*": Carnoy 43); **dē-ēxcito* > **dēxcito* > It. *desto*; *faciēbam* > **facēbam*; *mulērem* (§ 136) > *mulērem*, the *i* remaining long enough to palatalize the *l* (the Romance *ɛ* was doubtless a later analogical development); *parētes* (§ 136) > *parētes*, C. I. L. VI, 3714 (Rome); *prēhēndere* >

prëndere, then **prëndere* through the analogy of *rëddere* and perhaps also of *ascëndere*, *defëndere*, *pëndere*, *tëndere*; *quëtus* > *quëtus*, common in late inscriptions, Pirson 57 (cf. *requebit*, Carnoy 43); — *cōhörterem* > *cörterem*; *cōöpërire* > *cöpërire*, then **cöpërire* **cöp'rire* through the analogy of *cō-* and perhaps also of *öpëra*, *öpus*; *düödëcim* > *dödëcim* (Pirson 58: *dodece*).

226. Furthermore, *u* after all consonants fell before unaccented *u* probably by the middle of the first century, before unaccented *o* by the second century: *antiquus* > *anticus*; *carduus* > *cardus*; *cōquus* > *cōcus* (*App. Pr.*, “*coqui non coci*,” “*coqus non cocus*”; cf. S. 351); *distinguunt* > *distingunt* (according to Velius Longus, some writers use no *u* in *distinguere*, Édon 130); *ëquus* > *ëcus* (*App. Pr.*, “*equs non ecus*”; cf. Velius Longus, S. 217); *innöcus* > *innöcus*, Koffmane 111; *mörtuus* > *mörtus*; *suus* > *sus*, *tuum* > *tum*, Carnoy 117; — *battuo* > *battio* (cf. *abattas*, *Gl. Reich.*); *cōquo* > *cōco* (*App. Pr.*, “*coquens non cocens*”; hence **cocina*); *quat(t)uor* > *quattor* (S. 218) *quator* (Pirson 58) *quatro* (7th century, Carnoy 221); *quot(t)idie* > *cottidie*, S. 352; *stinguo* > *stingo*; *tinguo* > *tingo* (Caper, “*tinguere . . . non tingere*,” Keil VII, 106); *törqueo* > **torquo* > **törco*; *ünguo* > *üngo* (*ungo*, *unguntur*, *ungi*, Bayard 7; Caper, “*ungue non unge*,” Keil VII, 105; *uncis* = *unguis*, Audollent 536). So apparently *aruum* > **arum*, *ëruum* > *ërum* (*Lat. Spr.* 472: *ero*). *Vïduus*, however, doubtless under the influence of the commoner *vïdua*, kept its *u*: Old Fr. *vef*.

After gutturals, *u* fell before stressed *u* and *o*: *quum* > *cum*; *quömōdo* > *cömōdo*, Audollent 536. See § 354.

U often fell irregularly in *contin(u)ari*, *Febr(u)arius*, *Jan(u)arius*: *Vok.* II, 468–469; S. 217–218.

227. Similarly, *i* after a consonant fell before unaccented *i*: *audtï* > *audi*, *consiltï* > *consili*, *ministërï* > *ministëri*. Velius

Longus found it necessary to say that *Claudii, Cornelii, Julii*, etc., should be spelled with double *i*: Keil VII, 57.

Some late words, however, kept *-īi* and *-īs*: *Dionysii* > It. *Dionigi*, *Parisiis* > It. *Parigi*.

b. INITIAL SYLLABLE.

228. As far as one can judge from spellings and subsequent developments, *ǣ* was pronounced *a*; *æ*, *ē*, *ī*, *œ* all came to be sounded *e*; *ī* remained *i*; *ō* and *ū* were finally all pronounced *o* or *u*; *ō* remained *o*; *au* became *a* if there was an accented *u* in the next syllable, but otherwise remained unchanged (cf. *Lat. Spr.* 470): *rādicem, vālēre; aetātem, debēre, tēnēre, vīdēre, fādāre; ridēmus, civitātem, hibernus; plōrāre, frumentum, sūbīnde; cōlōrem, dōlēre, mōvētis; A(u)gūstus, A(u)runci, a(u)scūlto, audēre, gaudēre, naufragium*. For the confusion of *e* and *i*, see Audollent 535, Carnoy 17-33, Bon. 135-138. Cf. *æcclesia*, Bechtel 76; "*senatus non sinatus*," *App. Pr.*; *golosus gylosus* (for *gulōsus*), Koffmane 110; *moniti* (for *mūniti*), Bon. 136. *Agustus* is frequent from the second century on, S. 223 (cf. *agustas*, Pirson 26); *Arunci* occurs in manuscripts of Virgil; Caper says "*ausculta non asculata*," S. 223; **agūrium* must have existed also.

229. In a few words the vowel of the initial syllable was lost before an *r*: **corrōtūlare* > **c'rōplare*; *dīrēctus* generally > *d'rēctus* (*Vok.* II, 422: *driectus*); *quīritare* > **c'ritare*. *Jejūnus* after prefixes lost its first syllable: **dis-junare*.

Some minor peculiarities are to be noted: —

(1) *A* after *j* apparently tended to become *e*: Old Latin *jajūnus* > Classic *jejūnus* (the original *a* seems to be preserved in some Italian dialect forms); Classic *Januarius* > *Jenuarius* (common in inscriptions, S. 171-172, *Lat. Spr.* 470); Classic *janua* > **jenua* > Sardinian *genna*.

(2) *E*, long or short, is very often replaced by *i* in Gallic inscriptions (*Lat. Spr.* 470): *divota, mimoria*, etc.; *dilevit*, Bon. 109; cf. *Vok.* I,

422-424. This perhaps indicates a close pronunciation: cf. § 198. *Di-* for *de-*, possibly through confusion with *dis-*, is common in Gregory the Great: *dirivare*, etc. According to Mohl, *Lexique* 105-108, *e* became *i* in southern Italy from the fourth to the sixth century: *RIVOCAVERIT*, etc. A form *ni* for *ne* is found from early times: Pirson 3.

(3) *Ī* was occasionally assimilated to a following accented *a*: *gīgāntem* > **jagante* > Old Fr. *jaiant*, Pr. *jaian*, Old Genoese *zagante*; *slūdēticus* > *salvaticus* (Gl. Reich., cf. Lat. Spr. 470) > Old Fr. *salvage*, It. *salvatico*, Rum. *sălbatec*. Cf. Einf. § 111.

(4) *Ī* tended to become *e*, by dissimilation, if there was an accented *ī* in the next syllable:¹ *dīvidēre* > **devīdēre*; *dīvīnus* > *devīnus*, in fourth century inscriptions, *Lexique* 122; *finīre* > *fenīre*, in manuscripts and inscriptions, *Lexique* 123; *vīcīnus* > *vecīnus*, attested by Servius, *Lexique* 104 ff. *Sī*, in late Latin, sometimes became *se*, attested from the sixth century on (*Vok.* II, 87; *Lexique* 120; *Franz.* 2 II, 224 ff.; Bon. 126; Haag 11; cf. *nise*, C. I. L. I, 205); in very late texts there is frequent confusion of *si* and *sed* (*Franz.* 2 II, 225, 234-235); the *e* is perhaps due to the analogy of **que* < *quēd* = *quod* (cf. §§ 69, 82), cf. Italian *sed* on the model of *ched*: *si* is preserved in French, Provençal, and Spanish, *se* in Portuguese, Old French, Italian, and Old Rumanian. In *mīrabīlia* the *ī* apparently became *e* and *a*.

(5) *Ū* was kept by analogy in many words: *dūrare*, *mūrare*, *mūtare*, *nūtrire* (beside **notrīre*). *jūnīpērus* > *jenīperus* (Lat. Spr. 470) and *jīnīperus* (App. Pr.).

(6) *O* appears as *u* in *furmica* (App. Pr., cf. Rom. XXXV, 164), *putator* (Bon. 127), *turrente* (Bon. 131). *O* is changed to *e* in *retundus* (*Vok.* II, 213; cf. Vitruvius, *retundatio*, Lat. Spr. 470), through the influence of the prefix *re-*; also sometimes in *serore* (Lat. Spr. 470; cf. *serori*, *seroribus*, Carnoy 107).

(7) *Au* in vulgar speech was often replaced by *o* (cf. §§ 212, 213): *orīcla*, App. Pr., Pirson 27; so **ot* (for *aut*: cf. Umbrian *ote*, Lindsay 40), which prevailed in Vulgar Latin.

230. *S* before a consonant was doubtless long and sharp, as in modern Italian, so that at the beginning of a word it had a syllabic effect — *s-chola*. This led to the prefixing of a front vowel (until the seventh century nearly always an *i*, later ✓

¹ Mohl's view, *Lexique* 122-126, is that original Latin *ei*, if *i* followed, became *e* instead of *ī*.

often *e*) to the *s* when no vowel preceded — in *i-schola*. This *i* or *e* came to be regarded as a regular part of the word. The prosthetic vowel occurs first in Greek inscriptions. The earliest Latin example is probably *iscolasticus*, written in Barcelona in the second century; it is found repeatedly, though not frequently, in the third century (Carnoy 114–116); in the fourth and fifth it is very common: *espiritum*, *ischola*, *iscripta*, *isperabi*, *ispose*, *istatuam*, *istudio*, S. 317; *ismaragdus*, Pirson 60; *estatio*, *Estephanus*, *iscola*, *istare*, R. 467. Grammarians took no note of it until St. Isidore, in the seventh century. But in late Latin texts *ab* rather than *a* was used before words beginning with *sc*, *sp*, *st*: *ab scandalo*, Dubois 171; *ab sceleribus*, Bon. 445; cf. Dubois 171–172, Bon. 445–446.

The *es*-, *is*- thus produced was confounded with *ex*-, *exs*- (pronounced *es*-) and *ins*-, *his*- (pronounced *is*-): *explendido*, *splorator*, *instruo* for *struo*, *Spania*, etc., S. 317; *hispatii* for *spatii*, Bechtel 78; *spiratio* for *inspiratio*, Koffmane 109; *scalciare* for *excalceare*, *scoriare* for *excoriare*, *spandere* for *expandere*, *Spania*, *Spanus*, *stantia* for *instantia*, *strumentum*, etc., R. 469–470; *spectante* for *expectante*, etc., Bon. 148. Cf. *Vok.* II, 365 ff.; S. 316–319; Pirson 59–60.

C. INTERTONIC SYLLABLE.

N. B.—By this term is meant the syllable following the secondary and preceding the primary stress.

231. Vowels so situated probably became more and more indistinct towards the end of the Empire, and occasionally disappeared. In some regions they began to fall regularly before the close of the Vulgar Latin period, but *a* was generally kept: *bón(i)tátem*, *cáp(i)tális*, *cárr(i)cáre*, *cérebéllum*, *cív(i)tátem*, *cóll(o)cáre*, *cómparáre* *cómpéráre*, *dél(i)cátus*, *dú-b(i)táre*, *élémentum* *éliméntum*, *frigidária* *frigdária*, *mirabília*,

sacramentum, *séparâre séperâre*, *vérecúndia*. *Frigdaria* occurs in the second century B. C.: *Franz.* 2 I, 12. Cf. *dedcavit*, Pirson 52; *vetranus*, Pirson 51; *cornare* for *coronare*, Koffmane 111; *stablarius*, R. 467. The fall of the vowel of course disturbed the Vulgar Latin rhythm: see § 153. Cf. F. Neumann in *Zs.* XIV, 559.

Mīnistērium apparently became *mīnstērium* early enough for the *n* to fall before the *s*: see § 171. Cf. *Substrate* IV, 116.

d. PENULT.

232. The Vulgar Latin rhythmic principle tended to obliterate one of the two post-tonic syllables of proparoxytones. The penult, being next to the accent, was weaker and more exposed to syncope. We find in late Latin much confusion of *e* and *i*: *anemis*, *meretis*, etc., Neumann 22; *dixemus*, etc., Bon. 118. Likewise *o* and *u*: *ambolare*, etc., R. 464; *insola*, etc., Bon. 131-135; cf. *Sepulcri* 201-202.

The treatment of this vowel, however, was apparently very inconsistent in Vulgar Latin, and the conditions differed widely in different regions. There was probably a conflict between cultivated and popular pronunciation, both types often being preserved in the Romance languages: thus while the literary and official world said (*h*)*ōmīnes* (> It. *uomini*), the uneducated pronounced *'ōm'nes* (> Pr. *omne*); similarly beside *sōcērum* there was *sōcrum*.

As far as the general phenomena can be classified, we may say that in popular words in common speech the vowel of the penult tended to fall under the following conditions:—

(1) BETWEEN ANY CONSONANT AND A LIQUID.

233. A vowel preceded by a consonant and followed by a liquid weakened and fell in the earlier part of the Vulgar

Latin period: *altra*; *anglus*; *aspra*; *dedro* for *déderunt*, *Lexique* 63; *fecrunt fecru*, *Lexique* 64; *ins(u)la*; *juglus*; *maniplus*; *socro*, Pirson 51. In some words we find *a* weakened to *e*: *cltera*, *App. Pr.*; *hilerus*, Carnoy 12; *Cæseris*, *compera*, *seperat* (about 500 A. D.), *Vok.* I, 195-196; *Eseram* for *Isaram*, Bon. 96. For a vowel between a *labial* and a *liquid*, see (2) below.

But if the first consonant was a *palatal*, the vowel seems to have been kept, at any rate in some regions: *bájulus*, *frágilis*, *grácilis*, *virginem*. In *vigilat* > **víglat* the vowel fell before the *g* began to be palatalized (so apparently in *digitum* > *dic-tum*, *Franz.* 2 I, 15-16; *frígidus* > *fírigdus*, *App. Pr.*). Cf. § 259.

234. Latin originally had the two diminutive endings *-clus* (<-tlo), as in *sæctum*, and *-cŭlus* (<-co-lo), as in *aurícŭla*. These were kept distinct by Plautus. Later they were confused, both becoming *-cŭlus* in Classic Latin, both *-clus* in vulgar speech: *artíc(u)lus*, *bác(u)lus*, *másc(u)lus*, *óc(u)lus*, *spéc(u)lum*, *vernác(u)lus*, *víc(u)lus*. *Oclus* and some others occur in Petronius: see W. Heræus, *Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen*, 1899; cf. *peduclum*, Waters Ch. 57. Many examples are found in inscriptions: *oclos*, *scaplas*, Audollent 538; *aunclus*, *felicla*, *masclus*, Pirson 49-50. Cf. *Franz.* 2 I, 16-18.

To *-clus* was assimilated in popular Latin the ending *-tŭlus*: *capitulus* > **capiclus*; *fístula* > **físcŭla*; *vétulus* > *veclus*, *App. Pr.* (cf. *vitlus*, Pirson 51). But a few words, which must have been slow in entering the common vocabulary, escaped this absorption: *crústulum* > *crustlum* (found in 18 A. D.); *spatula* > **spatla*. Cf. § 284.

(2) BETWEEN A LABIAL AND ANY CONSONANT.

235. A vowel preceded by a *labial* and followed by a *consonant* was inclined to fall early: *bublus*; *cóm(i)tem*; *comp'tus*;

dēb(i)tum; *dōm(i)nus*; *fib(u)la*; *pōp(u)lus*; *sablum*; *trīb(u)la*; *vāpulo baplo*. In *dōm(i)nus* the *mn* form may be the older: *domni*, Pirson 50; *domnus* in St. Augustine, Koffmane 109; *domnicus*, R. 467; *domnulus*, Koffmane 111. *Lamna* occurs in Horace and Vitruvius, *Franz.* 2 I, 13. Petronius has *bublum*, Waters Ch. 44, *offla*, Waters Ch. 56. Cf. *fibla*, *poplus*, *sablum*, etc., in R. 467.

In some words, however, the vowel was kept, either everywhere or in a large region: *ārb(o)rem*; *hāmula*; *hōm(i)nes*; *jūv(e)nis*; *nēbula*; *trēmulat*.

236. When *ab* or *av* was brought next to a consonant by the fall of a following vowel, it generally became *au*, but often there were double forms; the process began very early: **āvica* > *auca*, found in glosses; *āvidus* > *audus*, Plautus (cf. *avunculus* > *aunculus*, Plautus); **clāvīdo* > *claudio* (cf. **navifragus* > *naufragus*); *fābula* > **faula* **fabla*; *gābata* > **gauta* **gabta*; **nāvitat* > **nautat*; *parābula* > **paraula* **parabla*; *tābula* > **taula* **tabla*. Cf. *Franz.* 2 I, 12.

(3) BETWEEN A LIQUID AND ANY CONSONANT.

237. A vowel preceded by a liquid and followed by a consonant was subject to syncope at all periods: *ardus*, Plautus; *caldus*, Plautus, Cato, Varro, Petronius; *cōl(a)phus* (cf. *percolopabat*, Waters Ch. 44; *colpus*, *Gl. Reich.*); *fūlica fulca*, *Franz.* 2 I, 13; *lardum*, Ovid, Martial, Juvenal, Pliny; *merto*, Pirson 51, *Franz.* 2 I, 15; *soldus*, Cæsar, Horace, Varro; *valde*; *viridis*, *App. Pr.* (cf. *viridiaria*, Vegetius, 4th century). Cf. *Franz.* 2 I, 12 ff.

(4) MISCELLANEOUS.

238. In some words the vowel fell under different conditions: *dlgitum* > *dictum*, *Franz.* 2 I, 15-16 (cf. § 233); *frigidus*

> *frigidus* (cf. § 233), *App. Pr. (fricda)*, Pompeii (FRIDAM); *máxima* > *masma*, 2d century, Suchier 732; *nítidus* > **nittus*, *pútídus* > **puttus*, probably late; *postus*, Lucretius, Pirson 50, *Franz. 2 I*, 13-14 (cf. *posturus*, Cato).

239. In the transition from Vulgar Latin to the Romance languages the vowels in classes (1), (2), (3), — in so far as they had not fallen already, — were syncopated with some regularity; and a number of vowels otherwise placed fell under different conditions in various regions: *pónere* > **ponre*, *tóllere* > **tolre*; *fémína* > **femna*, *hábitus* > **abtus*, *rápídus* > **rapdus*; *cárrico* > **carco*, *clérícus* > **clercus*, *collocat* > **colcat*; *déc(i)mus*, *fráx(i)nus*, *pérs(i)ca*, *séd(e)cim*. Cf. *Gl. Reich.*: *carcatus*, *culicet culcet* = *collōcat*.

In a part of Gaul *ámita* > **anta*, *débíta* > **depta*, *domínica* > **dominca*, *mánica* > **manca*, *sémíta* > **senta*. Some of these shortened forms were used in other regions.

A vowel preceded by *d* or *t* and followed by *c* seems to have remained longer than most other vowels that fell at all: *júdíco*, *médícus*, *viáticum*, *víndico*, etc.

e. FINAL SYLLABLE.

240. The vowels regularly remained through the Vulgar Latin period. Later, about the eighth century, they generally fell, except *a* and *i*, in Celtic, Aquitanian, and Ligurian territory.

241. In the *App. Pr.* we find "*avus* non *aus*," "*flavus* non *flaus*," "*rivus* non *rius*." *Aus* and *flaus* have left no representatives, but *rius* is evidently the ancestor of Italian and Spanish *rio*. All three forms are probably examples of a phonetic reduction that affected certain regions.

Through a large part of the Empire *trāvit* > *-aut*: *trumphaut* is found in Pompeii. See Morphology.

242. Final vowels, as in modern Italian, must have been often elided or syncopated in the interior of a phrase, especially *e* after liquids: Caper, "*bibere non biber*"; *haber* in an inscription; *conder*, *præber*, *prædiscer*, *tanger* in manuscripts. See *Franz.* 2 I, 41. So, perhaps, *autumnal(e)*, *tribunal(e)*, etc.

The *App. Pr.* has "*barbarus non barbar*," "*figulus non figel*," "*masculus non mascel*." These curious forms are probably not the result of a phonetic development, but are rather due to a local change of inflection, which left no trace in the Romance languages. Cf. Old Latin *facul* = *facilis*, *famul* = *famulus*.

243. *A*, long or short, was naturally pronounced *a*; *æ*, *ē*, *ī*, according to the testimony of numerous inscriptions (*Lat. Spr.* 469), were all probably sounded *e*, which in Sicily became eventually *i*; *ī* remained *i*; *ō* was *o*, which became *u* in Sicily; *ū* was *u*. In some localities this *o* and this *u* were kept distinct, but generally they were confounded (*Lat. Spr.* 469). Examples: *āmās*, *āmāt*; *sanctæ*, *tristēs*, *tristēm*, *tristīs*; *fēcī*, *bōnī*, *sēntīs*; *bōnōs*, *mōriōr*; *cōrpūs*, *fructū*. About the eighth century *a* probably became *ɔ* in northern Gaul.

244. The changes in pronunciation led to great confusion in spelling. It is likely that final vowels were especially obscure in Gaul in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Neumann 7-8 cites ten cases of *e* for *a*: *Italice*, etc.

E and *æ*, in late Latin, were not usually distinguished (cf. § 210): *apte* = *aptæ*, *cotidiæ*, etc., Bechtel 75-76.

E and *i* came to be used almost indiscriminately. Quintilian I, vii, says that Livy wrote *sibe* and *quase*; in I, iv and I, vii, he describes the final vowel of *here* as neither quite *e* nor quite *i*. Cf. *mihe*, *tibe*, etc., *Lexique* 118. *E* for *i* is frequent in the dative and ablative, Carnoy 45: *luce*, dative; *uxore*, ablative.

Es and *is* are continually interchanged: *Vok.* I, 244 ff., III, 116; *mares* = *maris*, etc., Audolent 535; *Joannis*, etc., Neumann 11-13; *jacis*, *omnes* = *omnis* (3d century), etc., Carnoy 13-15; *regis* = *reges*, etc. Bon. 111; *omnes* = *omnis*, etc., Bon. 121. So *et* and *it*: Bechtel 88-89, very common in *Per.*; *tenit*, etc., Neumann 11-13; *posuet*, etc., Carnoy 13; *movit*, etc., Bon. 115; Sepulcri 229-230.

With *o* and *u* it was the same. In *Vok.* II, 91 ff., there are 61 examples of *u* for ablative *o* between 126 and 563 A. D., as well as frequent instances of ablative in *um*, of *om* for *um*, *os* for *us*, and *us* for *os*. The confusion of *o* and *um* is very common in *Per.*; also in Gregory the Great, Sepulcri 203-204; cf. Carnoy 48, *monumento* = *monumentum*. Bon. 131 has *spoliatur* for *spoliator*. *Os* and *us* were interchanged from the third century on: *anus* = *annos*, Carnoy 48; *bonus* = *bonos*, etc., Sepulcri 201. The accusative plural in *us* was particularly common in Gaul: *filius* = *filios*, etc., Bon. 128; cf. Haag 42.

245. In words often used as proclitics final *-er*, *-or* became *-re*, *-ro*: *inter* > **intre*; *quat(u)or* > *quatro*, Carnoy 221; *semper* > **sempre*; *super* > **supre*. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 474.

Minus, used as a prefix (cf. § 29) as in *minus-pretiare*, became in Gaul *mis-*, perhaps at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, under the influence of *dis-*. Cf. *Phon.* 43-44.

E. CONSONANTS.

246. The Latin consonant letters were B, C, D, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Z. *I* and *V* were used both for the vowels *i* and *u* and for the consonants *j* and *v*. *K*, an old letter equivalent to *C*, was kept in some formulas; it need

not be separately considered. *Q* was generally used only in the combination *QV* = *kw* (cf. § 223). *X* stands for *ks*. *Z* in Old Latin apparently meant *s* or *ss* (S. 319–320); later it represented a different Latin version of Greek ζ, which will be treated below (§§ 338–339).

In addition to the above, Vulgar Latin had a new *w* and *y* coming from originally syllabic *u*, *e*, or *i* in hiatus: see § 224. In words borrowed from Greek and German there were several foreign consonants, which will be discussed after the native ones.

247. Double consonants regularly kept their long pronunciation: *annus*, *nullus*, *passus*, *terra*, *vacca*. For *ss* > *s* and *ll* > *l* after long vowels, see § 161. For double forms like *cippus cippus*, see §§ 162, 163.

In late spelling there is some confusion of single and double consonants: *anos*, Pirson 88; *fillio*, Pirson 85; *serra*, Bon. 158; cf. Pirson 83–91. For Fredegarius see Haag 39–40. Double consonants are often written single in early inscriptions.

248. The principal developments that affected Latin consonants may be summed up as follows: *b* between vowels was opened into the bilabial fricative β, and thus became identical with *v*, which also changed to β; *c* and *g* before front vowels were palatalized and were then subject to further alterations; *h* was silent; *m* and *n* became silent at the end of a word, and *n* ceased to be sounded before *s*. The voicing of intervocalic surds began during the Vulgar Latin period.

The consonants will now be considered in detail, first the native Latin, next the Greek, lastly the Germanic; the Celtic need not be separately studied. The Latin consonants will be taken up in the following order: aspirate, gutturals, palatals, dentals, liquids, sibilants, nasals, labials.

1. LATIN CONSONANTS.

a. ASPIRATE.

249. *H* was weak and uncertain at all times in Latin, being doubtless little or nothing more than a breathed on-glide: S. 255–256. Grammarians say that *h* is not a letter but a mark of aspiration: S. 262–263. There is no trace of Latin *h* in the Romance languages. Cf. G. Paris in *Rom.* XI, 399.

250. It probably disappeared first when medial: S. 266. Quintilian commends the spelling *deprendere*: S. 266. Gellius says *ahenum*, *vehemens*, *incohare* are archaic; Terentius Scaurus calls *reprehensus* and *vehemens* incorrect, and both he and Velius Longus declare there is no *h* in *prendo*: S. 266. Probus states that *traho* is pronounced *trao*: Lindsay 57. Cf. *App. Pr.*, “*adhuc non aduc.*” In inscriptions we find such forms as *aduc*, *comprendit*, *cortis*, *mi*, *nil*, *vemens*: S. 267–268.

251. Initial *h* was surely very feeble and often silent during the Republic. In Cicero’s time and in the early Empire there was an attempt to revive it in polite society, which led to frequent misuse by the ignorant, very much as happens in Cockney English to-day: for the would-be elegant *chommoda*, *hinsidias*, etc., of “Arrius,” see S. 264.

Quintilian says the ancients used *h* but little, and cites “*ados ircosque*”: S. 263. Gellius quotes P. Nigidius Figulus to the effect that “*rusticus fit sermo si aspires perperam*”; but speaks of bygone generations—i.e., Cicero’s contemporaries—as using *h* very much, in such words as *sepulchrum*, *honera*: S. 263–264. Pompeius notes that *h* sometimes makes position, as in *terga fatigamus hasta*, sometimes does not, as in *quisquis honos tumuli*: Keil V, 117. Grammarians felt obliged to discuss in detail the spelling of words with or without *h*: S. 264–265.

H is dropped in a few inscriptions towards the end of the Republic: *arrespex* (for *haruspex*), etc., S. 264. In Rome are found: E[REDES], *C. I. L. I.*, 1034; ORATIA, *C. I. L. I.*, 924; OSTIA, *C. I. L. I.*, 819. In Pompeii *h* is freely omitted; and after the third century it is everywhere more or less indiscriminately used: *abeo*, *abitat*, *anc*, *eres*, *ic*, *oc*, *omo*, *ora*, etc., *haram*, *hegit*, *hossa*, etc., S. 265-266. Cf. *ospitium*, *ymnus*, etc., *heremum*, *hiens*, *hostium*, etc., Bechtel 77-78; *ortus*, etc., *hodio*, etc., R. 462-463.

252. After *h* had become silent, there grew up a school pronunciation of medial *h* as *k*, which has persisted in the Italian pronunciation of Latin and has affected some words in other languages: *michi*, *nichil*, Bechtel 78, R. 455. Cf. E. S. Sheldon in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* I (1892), 82-87.

b. GUTTURALS.

253. *C* and *K* did not differ in value except that *C* sometimes did service for *G*: *App. Pr.*, "*digitus non dicitus*"; *dicitos* = *digitos*, Audollent 536; cf. S. 341-344. There was some confusion, too, of *Q* and *C*: S. 345.

254. *QV* was pronounced *kw*: S. 340-341, 345-346, 350-351. Before *u* and *o*, however, the *kw* was reduced to *k* by the first or second century, probably earlier in local or vulgar dialects: Quintilian VI, iii, records a pun of Cicero on *coque* and *quoque*; *condam*, *cot*, *cottidie*, S. 351-352; *in quo ante* = *inchoante*, *quooperta* = *coperta*, *secuntur*, Bechtel 78-79. Cf. § 226.

Before other vowels the *kw* was regularly kept in most of the Empire, unless analogy led to a substitution of *k*, as in *coci* for *coqui* through *cocus*: see § 226. But in Dacia, south-eastern Italy, and Sicily subsequent developments point to a Vulgar Latin reduction of *que* to *ke*, *qui* to *ki*: *Lat. Spr.* 473.

In *quinque* the first *w* was lost by dissimilation: CINQVE, Carnoy 221, found in Spain (so CINQV, *Lexique* 93); CINCTIVS, CINQVAGINTA, S. 351. *Laqueus* seems, for some reason, to have become **laceus*: Substrate III, 274.

255. *X* stood for *ks*: S. 341, 346, 352. After a consonant *ks* early tended to become *s*: Piautus uses *mers* for *merx*; Caper, "*cals* dicendum, ubi materia est, per *s*," Keil VII, 98.

By the second or third century *ks* before a consonant was reduced to *s*: *sestus* is common in inscriptions, cf. Carnoy 170, Eckinger 126 (Σέστος); *destera*, Carnoy 171; *dester*, S. 353; *mextum* for *mæstum*, Audollent 537. So *ex-* > *es-* in *excutere*, *exponere*, etc.: cf. *extimare* for *æstimare*, Bechtel 139. Hence sometimes, by analogy, *es-* for *ex-* before vowels, as in **essagium*, but not in *exire*.

At about the same time final *ks* became *s*, except in monosyllables: *cojus*, *conjus*, *milex*, *pregnax* = *prægnans*, *subornatrix*, etc., in inscriptions, S. 353 (cf. *xanto*, etc.); *felis*, fifth century, Carnoy 159; *App. Pr.*, "*aries non ariex*," "*locuples non lucuplex*," "*miles non milex*," "*poples non poplex*."

In parts of Italy *ks* between vowels was assimilated into *ss* by the first century, but this was only local: ALESAN[DER], S. 353; BISSIT BISIT VISIT = *vixit*, S. 353. For *ks* > *χs*, see § 266.

There are some examples, in late Latin, of a metathesis of *ks* into *sk*: *axilla* > *ascella*, Lindsay 102; *buxus* > **buscus*; *vixit* > *vixcit* (i. e., *viscit*), Carnoy 157. Cf. *Vok. I*, 145. On the other hand, *Priscilla* > *PRIXSILLA*, Carnoy 158. In northern Gaul apparently *sk* regularly became *ks*, as in *cresco*, *nasco*, etc.: see *Mélanges Wahlund* 145.

256. The voicing of intervocalic surds doubtless began as early as the fifth century; it is shown by Anglo-Saxon borrowings and by such Latin forms as *frigare*, *migat* in inscriptions

and manuscripts; there are many examples from the sixth century: *Lat. Spr.* 474. A. Zimmermann, *Zs.* XXV, 731, finds in inscriptions some slight evidence of a change of *t* to *d* during the Empire, in some places perhaps as early as the first century. According to Loth 21-26, intervocalic *c*, *p*, *t* were voiced in Gaul in the second half of the sixth century. Rydberg, *Franz.* 2 I, 32, maintains, on the evidence of inscriptions and manuscripts, that *t* > *d* in the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth, while *c* > *g* at least two centuries earlier. Cf. *Vok.* I, 125ff.; *immudavit*, 2d century, Carnoy 121; *eglesia*, *lebra*, *pontivicatus*, 7th century, Carnoy 123; *negat*, *pagandum*, etc., *sigricius* = *secretius*, etc., Haag 27; *cubidus*, *occubavit*, etc., *stibri*, etc., Haag 27-28; *cataveris* = *cadaveris*, etc., Haag 28-29. Some of the above examples show that consonants followed by *r* shared in the voicing, at least as early as the seventh century.

Voicing was not general, however, in central and southern Italy, Dalmatia, and Dacia.

257. Initial *c* and *cr*, in a few words, became *g* and *gr*: **gaveola*; **gratis*; *crassus* + *grossus* > *grassus*, found in the 4th century. Cf. Densusianu 111-112.

(1) *C* AND *G* BEFORE FRONT VOWELS.

258. Before the front vowels *e* and *i* the velar stops *k* and *g* were drawn forward, early in the Empire or before, into a mediopalatal position—*k'*, *g'*. *G* seems to have been attracted sooner than *k*: in Sardinian we find *k* before *e* or *i* preserved as a stop while *g* is not—*kelu*, *kena*, *kera*, *kima*, *kircare*, *deghe* < *decem*, *noghe* < *nucem*, but *reina*, etc.

In Central Sardinia, Dalmatia, and Illyria *k'* went no further, and in Sicily, southern Italy, and Dacia the *k'* stage was apparently kept longer than in most regions: *Lat. Spr.* 472.

259. *G'* by the fourth century had become *præpalatal* and had opened into *y*, both in popular and in clerical Latin: *Gerapolis* for *Hierapolis*, *Per.* 61, 3; "*calcostegis non calcosteis*," *App. Pr.*; *CON.GI.GI* = *conjugi*, *S.* 349; *geiuna* = *jejuna*, *Stolz* 275, *Neumann* 5, *Lat. Spr.* 473; *GENVARIVS*, *S.* 239; *GENARIVS*, *Pirson* 75; *agebat* = *aiebat*, *Ienubam* = *Genavam*, *ingens* = *iniens*, *Bon.* 173; *agebat* = *aiebat*, *agere* = *aie*, *Sepulcri* 205; *Gepte*, *Tragani*, *Troge*, *Haag* 33; *iesta*, *D'Arbois* 10. Before this happened, *frigidus* in most of the Empire had become *frīgdus* (*App. Pr.*, "*frigida non frīda*"), *vīgilat* had become **vīglat*, and *dīgītus* in some places had become *dīctus* (*Franz.* 2 I, 15-16): cf. § 233.

This *y*, when it was intervocalic, fused, in nearly all the Empire, with the following *e* or *i* if this vowel was stressed: *magīster* > **mayīster* > *maester*; so **pa(g)él(n)sis*, *re(g)īna*, *vi(g)īnti*, etc.; similarly perhaps the proclitic *ma(g)is*. Cf. *Agriuntum*, *βειντι* = *viginti*, *μαειστο*, etc., *Vok.* II, 461 (cf. *maestati*, *Vok.* II, 460); *trienta*, *S.* 349, *Pirson* 97; *quarranta* = *quadráginta*, *Pirson* 97; *aliens*, *colliens*, *diriens*, *negliencia*, *Haag* 34; *recolliendo*, etc., *F. Diez*, *Grammaire des langues romanes* I, 250. After the accent, and after a consonant, the *y* regularly remained, except when analogy forced its disappearance (as in *colliens* through **colliente*, etc.): *légit*, *lèges*, *plángit*, *argéntum*. But sometimes it fused with a following *i* in proparoxytones: *roitus* (= *rógitus* = *rogátus*), *Vok.* II, 461.

Spain, a part of southwestern Gaul, and portions of Sardinia, Sicily, and southwestern Italy remained at the *y* stage; elsewhere the *y* developed further in the Romance languages. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 473.¹

¹ Some light is thrown on the later clerical pronunciation by a statement in a fragment of a tenth century treatise on Latin pronunciation, *Thurot* 77, to the effect *g* has "its own sound" (i.e., that of English *g* in *gem*) before *e* and *i*, but is "weak" before other vowels.

260. *K'* as early as the third century must have had nearly everywhere a front, or præpalatal, articulation: *k'entu*, *duk'ere*. The next step was the development of an audible glide, a short *y*, between the *k'* and the following vowel: *k'yentu*, *duk'yere*. By the fifth century the *k'* had passed a little further forward and the *k'y* had become *t'y*: *t'yentu*, *du't'yere*. Through a modification of this glide the group then, in the sixth or seventh century, developed into *t's* or *ts*: *t's'entu* or *tsentu*.

Speakers were apparently unaware of the phenomenon until the assibilation was complete. There is no mention of it by the earlier grammarians: S. 340. In the first half of the third century some writers distinguish *ce*, *ka*, and *qu*, apparently as præpalatal, mediopalatal, and postpalatal; in the fifth century we find BINTCENTE, INTCITAMENTO: P. E. Guarnerio in *Supplementi all'Archivio glottologico italiano* IV (1897), 21-51 (cf. *Rom.* XXX, 617). S. 348 cites FES[IT], PAZE (6th or 7th century). Cf. *Vok.* I, 163. Frankish *tins* (German *zins*) is from *census*, borrowed probably in the fifth century: F. G. Mohl, *Zs.* XXVI, 595.¹

Sc was palatalized also: *crēscēre*, *co(g)nōscēre*, *fascem*, *nascēre*, *pl̄sc̄em*, etc. Cf. CONSIENSIA, SEPTRVM, S. 348.

261. For a discussion of the subject, see H. Schuchardt, *Vok.* I, 151, and *Ltblt.* XIV, 360; G. Paris in *Journal des savants*, 1900, 359, in the *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études*, 1893, 7, in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1893, 81, and in *Rom.* XXXIII, 322; P. Marchot, *Petite phonétique du français préhistorique*, 1901, 51-53; W. Meyer-Lübke in *Einf.* 123-126, in *Lat.*

¹ In the school pronunciation of the seventh and eighth centuries *c* before *e* and *i* was probably *ts*. In the treatise cited in the preceding note, Thurot 77, it is stated that *c* has "its own sound" before *e* and *i*, and is almost like *q* before other vowels.

Spr. 472, in *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie* 313 ff.; Carnoy 155-160 (who puts the assibilation in the sixth century and earlier). For a possible indication, through alliteration, of a local assibilation of *c* as early as the second century, see *Archiv* XV, 146.

262. For *cē*, *cī*, see Palatals below.

(2) *C* AND *G* BEFORE BACK VOWELS.

263. *K* and *g* before vowels not formed in the front of the mouth usually remained unchanged: *canis*, *gustus*, *pacare*, *negare*. See, however, § 256. Inasmuch as *a* had in Gaul a front pronunciation (§ 194), *ka*, *ga* in most of that country became *k'a*, *g'a*, probably by the end of the seventh century, and then developed further: *carum* > Fr. *cher*, *gamba* > Fr. *jambe*.

Intervocalic *g* before the accent fell in many words in all or a part of the Empire, and apparently remained—perhaps under learned or under analogical influence—in others: *AVSTVS* from the second century on, Carnoy 127 (cf. *AVSTE*, S. 349); *FRVALITAS*, S. 349; so **leālis*, **liāmen*, **reālis* (for *realis* in *Gl. Reich.*, see *Zs.* XXX, 50); so, too, the proclitic *eo* for *ego*, found about the sixth century, *Vok.* I, 129 (other examples in manuscripts, *Franz.* 2 II, 242-243). But *līgāre*, *nēgāre*, *pagānus*.

(3) *C* AND *G* FINAL AND BEFORE CONSONANTS.

264. At the end of a word the guttural seems to have been regularly preserved in Vulgar Latin: *dīc*, *dūc*, *ecce hīc*, *eccu'hāc*, *fac*, *hōc*, *sīc*; cf. Italian *dimmi* (< *dīc mī*), *fammi* (< *fac mī*), *siffatto* (< *sīc factum*).

Occasionally, however, the *c* must have been lost,—mainly,

no doubt, through assimilation to a following initial consonant: *fa* for *fac*, *Zs. XXV*, 735. In late texts *nec* is often written *ne* before a consonant, and there is a confusion of *si* and *sic*: *Franz. 2 II*, 215-224, 236-240.

265. Before another consonant *k* and *g* were for the most part kept through the Vulgar Latin period: *actus, oclus; frigidus, *viglat* (§ 233).

For *kw* = *qu*, see § 254. For *ks* = *x*, see § 255.

266. *Kt* in some parts of Italy was assimilated into *tt* by the beginning of the fourth century, in the south even in the first century: *FATA*, *OTOGENTOS*, in *Pompeii*, *Lat. Spr.* 476; *AVTOR*, *LATTVCÆ* (301 A. D.), *OTOBRI* (380 A. D.), *PRÆFETTO*, etc., *S.* 348; *App. Pr.*, "*auctor non autor*"; *Festus*, "*dumecta antiqui quasi dumecita appellabant quæ nos dumeta*," *S.* 348.

The Celts perhaps pronounced the Latin *ct* as *χt* from the beginning, inasmuch as their own *ct* had become *χt* (e.g., Old Irish *ocht-n* corresponding to Latin *octo*, *Windisch* 394, 398-399); and likewise substituted *χs* for *ks*: **faxtum* > *Fr. fait*, **exsire* > *Pr. eissir*. Cf. *Einf.* § 186, *Gram.* I, § 650. The resultant phenomena can, however, be explained otherwise: *Suchier* 735.

267. *Nkt* became *nt*, which seems to have been assimilated into *nt* in parts of the Empire, probably by the first century: *defuntus, regnante, sante, Lat. Spr.* 472; *santo*, *S.* 278; *cuntis, santus*, *Carnoy* 172.

There is reason to believe, however, that the *η* was retained very generally in Gaul and perhaps some other regions, and subsequently drawn forward to the præpalatal position—*n'*: *sanctum* > *Fr., Pr. saint, sanh*, etc.

268. *Gm* became *um*: *fraumenta, fleuma, Lat. Spr.* 472; *App. Pr.* "*pegma non peuma*" (i.e., *πηγμα*); *St. Isidore*, "*sagma*

quæ corrupte vulgo *sauma* [or *salma*] dicitur" (i.e., σάγμα), S. 327. Cf. Italian *sgma*; and also *salma*, which comes from *sauma* as *calma* from καῦμα. *Soma* occurs in *Gl. Reich*.

269. *Gn* was variously treated in different regions, being preserved in some, assimilated into *n'* or *n* in others, and subjected to still further modifications: *rēnante, renum*, Haag 34. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 476.

In *cognōsco* the *g* generally disappeared, the word being decomposed—after the fall of initial *g* in *gnosco*—into *co-* and *nōsco*; similarly the *g* was sometimes lost in *cognatus*: *Vok.* I, 115–116, *connato, cunnuscit*, etc.

270. *Gr*, between vowels, in popular words apparently became *r* in parts of the Empire: *fra(g)rare, intē(g)rum, nī(g)rum, pere(g)rīnum, pi(g)ritia*.

c. PALATALS.

271. Latin *j* was pronounced *y*, being identical in sound with the consonant that developed out of *ē* and *ī* (§ 224): *jam, conjux, cūjus; eāmus, habeam, tēneat, filiā, vēnio*. Instead of *i* (= *j*) the spelling *ii* was often used: *coiugi, eiius*, Neumann, *Fortsetzung* 7.

When *y* followed a consonant, that consonant was often more or less assimilated, sometimes entirely absorbed by the *y*. Palatalization was commonest in Gaul, rarest in Dacia.

272. *Dy* and *gy*, in the latter part of the Empire, probably were reduced to *y* in vulgar speech: *deōrsūm, diūrnus; adiutare, audiam, gaudiūm, hōdie, odiūm, pōdiūm, videam; exagium, fageus*. Compare *OZE* = *hodie* (S. 323) and *Ζουλεία* = *Julia* (Eckinger 80); *ZACONVS* = *diaconus*, etc. (S. 324) and *ZESV* = *Jesu*, *ZVNIO* = *junior* (S. 239). Cf. *ajutit* = *adjutet*, Pirson 76; *madias* = *maias*, 364 A. D., Stolz 275, Pirson 75; *Carnoy*

162; *radio* = *maio*, Haag 34; *magias* = *maias*, Carnoy 162, S. 349; *juria* = *jurgia*, Σεριος = *Sergius*, Carnoy 161; *aio* = *aios*, Vok. II, 461; *Congianus* = *Condianus*, Carnoy 162; *corridæ* = *corrigiæ*, *Remidium* = *Remigium*, Haag 34; *anoget* = **inodiat*, Gl. Reich.

De, di, however, towards the end of the Empire, had another—doubtless more elegant—pronunciation, which was probably *dz*: *pōdium* > It. *poggio*, but *mēdium* > It. *mezzo*. Servius in *Virg. Georg.* II, 216, says, "*Media, di* sine sibilo proferenda est, græcum enim nomen est," S. 320. St. Isidore writes, "solent Itali dicere *ozie* pro *hodie*," S. 321. The letter *Z* is often used in inscriptions, but we generally cannot tell whether it means *dy*, *y*, or *dz* (cf. § 339): *ZES* = *dies*, S. 323; *ζε* = *die*, Audollent 537; *ZOGENES*, S. 324; cf. *sacritus* = *διάκριτος*, Waters Ch. 63.

In most words the vulgar *y* prevailed, in others—especially in Italy—the cultivated *dz*; from *radius* Italian has both *raggio* and *razzo*. The *dz* pronunciation was especially favored after a consonant: *hōrdeum* > It. *orzo*, *prandium* > It. *pranzo*.

273. It appears that the labials were not regularly assimilated in Vulgar Latin: *sapiam* > It. *sappia*, Pr. *sapcha*, etc. But through the analogy of *audio* > **auyo*, *video* > **veyo*, etc., and perhaps through slurring due to constant and careless use, *habeo*, *dēbeo* often became **ayo*, **dēyo*: cf. It. *aggio*, *deggio*, beside *abbio*, *debbio*. The reduced forms generally prevailed, but not everywhere. For *plūvia* a form **plōja* was substituted in most of the Empire: cf. §§ 169, 208, (4).

274. *Ly, ny*, between vowels, probably became *l', n'* before the end of the Empire: *filius*, *fōlia*, *mēlius*, *palea*, *īlia*; *Hispania*, *īneat*, *vēniam*. This palatal pronunciation may be represented by the spellings *Aureia*, *Corneius*, *fīos*, etc., S. 327.

Lly, ll'g', l'g' were probably reduced to *l'* somewhat later: *allium, malleus; cōlligit; ex-ēligit*.

Oleum, from *ἐλαιον*, is an exception: cf. It., Sp. *olio*, Pg. *oleo*, Pr. *oli*, Fr. *huile*; the foreign words borrowed from Latin *oleum* indicate the same irregularity.

For *ry*, see § 296.

275. *Sy*, between vowels, doubtless became during the Vulgar Latin period *s'*, a sound similar to English *sh* in *ship*: *basium, caseus, mansiōnem*, etc.

Ssy, scy, sty were generally assimilated later: **bassiare, fascia, pōstea*. Cf. *consiensia*, Pirson 72.

For the confusion of *sy* and *ty*, see § 277.

276. *Cy* and *ty*, in the second and third centuries, were very similar in sound, being respectively *k'y* and *t'y* (cf. Fr. *Riquier* and *pitié* in popular speech), and hence were often confused: Ἀρουντιανός = *Aruntianus*, 131 A.D., Eckinger 99; TERMINACIONES (2d century), *concupiscencia* (an acrostic in Comodian), *justicia* (in an edict of Diocletian), many examples in Gaul in the 5th century, *Lat. Spr.* 475; *defeniciones* (222–235 A.D.), *ocio* (389 A.D.), *staacio* (601 A.D.), *tercius*, S. 323; *oracionem* (601 A.D.), *tercia*, Pirson 71; *mandatium, servitium*, etc. Bon. 171; especially common in Gallic inscriptions of the seventh century, Stolz 51. Cf. *Vok.* I, 150ff.; Densusianu 111.

In later school pronunciation *cy* and *ty* were sounded alike. According to Albinus (S. 321) "*benedictio et oratio et talia t debent habere in pænultima syllaba, non c.*" In the treatise published by Thurot (see footnote to § 259), p. 78, we are told that *t̃i*, unless preceded by *s*, is pronounced like *c*, as in *etiam, prophetia, quatio, silentium*; *t̃i*, furthermore, is confused with *ci*, the spelling *c* being prescribed in *amicicia, avaricia, duricia, justicia, leticia, malicia, pudicia*, etc., also in *nuncius, ocium*,

spacium, tercius. Cf. *Gl. Reich.*: *audatia, speties, sotium; ambicio, inicio, spacio, tristicia*, etc.

This similarity or identity of sound led, in some cases, either locally or in the whole Empire, to the substitution of suffixes and to other permanent transfers of words from one class to the other: cf. Carnoy 151-154. Hence arose numerous double forms: *condicio conditio, solacium solatium*; later *avaritia -cia, *cominitiare -ciare, servitium -cium*, etc.; so many proper names, *Anitius -cius*, etc., S. 324. Cf. A. Horning in *Zs. XXIV*, 545. This explains such seemingly anomalous developments as **exquartiare* > It. *squarciare*, **gutteare* > It. *gocciare*, etc. A number of words evidently had a popular pronunciation with *t'* and a school pronunciation with *k'*, or *vice versa*: cf. It. *comenzare cominciare*, etc.¹

277. *T'y* developed sporadically in the second century, regularly by the fourth, into *ts* (cf. § 260): CRESCENTSIAN[VS], 140 A. D., S. 323; MARSIANESSES = *Martianenses*, 3d century, Carnoy 154; ZODORYS = *Theodorus*, etc., S. 324, *Vok.* I, 68; *ampitlatru, Vincentus*, Audollent 537. Servius in *Don.* (S. 320) says, "Iotacismi sunt quotiens post *ti-* vel *di-* syllabam sequitur vocalis, et plerumque supradictæ syllabæ in sibilum transeunt." Papirius, cited by Cassiodorus (S. 320): "*Iustitia* cum scribitur, tertia syllaba sic sonat quasi constet ex tribus litteris, *t, z*, et *i*"; he goes on to state that it is always so when *ti* is followed by a vowel other than *i* (as in *Tatius, otia*, but not in *otii, iustitii*), except in foreign proper names or after *s* (as in *justius, castius*). Pompeius says the same thing at considerable length, adding (S. 320), "si dicas *Titius*, pinguius sonat et perdit sonum suum et accipit sibilum." Consentius

¹ For a different explanation of the Italian and Rumanian developments, see S. Puscariu, *Latamisches ti und ki im Rumänischen, Italienischen und Sardischen*, 1904; reviewed in *Libl.* XXVII, 64.

mentions the assibilation in *etiam*, St. Isidore in *justitia*: S. 320-321. Welsh words borrowed from Latin before the fourth century show no assibilation; but names in *-tiacum*, carried into Brittany in the second half of the fifth century, are assibilated (e.g., *Metiacus* > *Messac*).

At an intermediate stage between *ty* and *ts* — say *t's'y* — the group, if the *t'* was rather weak, was easily confused with *sy*. Examples are very numerous: *OBSERVASIONE*, 5th century, S. 323, Pirson 71; *diposisio* = *depositio*, *hocsies*, *sepsies*, 6th century, S. 323; *tersio*, Pirson 71; cf. *Vok.* I, 153. Clerical usage for a while doubtless favored *sy* for *ty*, and many words have preserved it in various regions, especially in suffixes: *palatium* *-sium*, *pretium* *-sium*, *ratio* *-sio*, *statio* *-sio*, *servitium* *-sium*, etc.; hence Italian *palagio* beside *palazzo*, etc., and *-igia* beside *-ezza* from *-itia*. Cf. *Ltblt.* XXVII, 65; *Rom.* XXXV, 480.

278. *K'y* was assibilated sporadically in the third century, but not regularly until the fifth or sixth, after the assibilation of *t'y* was completed: *Μαρσιανός* = *Marcianus*, 225 A. D., Eckinger 103; *judigsium*, 6th century, Carnoy 154; so *facio*, *glacies*, *placeam*, etc. The resulting sibilant was different from that which came from *t'y*: *faciam* > It. *faccia*, *vitium* > It. *vezzo*. But the intermediate stages were similar enough to lead to some confusion, and the ultimate products have become identical in many regions.

279. For *k', g'*, not followed by *y*, see Gutturals.

d. DENTALS.

280. The dentals were pronounced with the middle of the tongue arched up and the tip touching the gums or teeth, as in modern French, and not as in English: S. 301-302, 307.

281. *D* regularly remained unchanged: *dare*, *perdo*, *modus*, *quid*.

Oscan and Umbrian had *nn* corresponding to Latin *nd*: Sittl 37. There is some indication that this pronunciation was locally adopted in Latin: AGENNÆ, VERECVNNVS, etc., S. 311-312; "*grundio non grunnio*," *App. Pr.* If this was the case, the central and southern Italian *nn* for *nd* (as *quannu* for *quando*) may go back to ancient times: *Lat. Spr.* 476.

(1) Occasionally *d* > *l*: old *dacruma* > *lacrima*; *App. Pr.*, "*adipes non alipes*." Cf. Liquids. Cf. § 289, (3).

(2) In a few words *d* > *r*: *medidies* by dissimilation > *meridies*; ARVORSVM = *adversum*, S. 311; Consentius blames "*peres pro pedes*," S. 311. The cases seem to be sporadic and due to different special causes.

282. At the end of a word there was hesitation between *d* and *t*; *d* may have been devocalized before a voiceless initial consonant, and possibly at the end of a phrase: APVD APVT, S. 365; *capud* in Gregory the Great; FECIT FECED, etc., S. 365; INQVID, SET, etc., S. 366-367; *aput*, *quot*, *set*, Carnoy 180. Some of the confusion was doubtless due to the fall of both *d* and *t*: see § 285.

In proclitics assimilation naturally went further, as we may infer from the treatment of the prefix *ad-*: people probably said not only *at te* (cf. *attendere*) but sometimes **ar Romam* (cf. *arripere*). So the final consonant eventually often disappeared. Cf. S. 358-359. Grammarians warn against the confusion of *ad* and *at*, etc., S. 365-366. Cf. *ad eos* and *at ea*, etc., Carnoy 179-180; *id it*, *quid quit*, Carnoy 180; *a, quo* and *co*, Haag 29.

Illud, through the analogy of other neuters, became *illum*: Haag 29, *illum corpus*, etc.

283. Intervocalic *d*, perhaps at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, became *ð* in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, northern Italy, and a part of Sardinia: *videre* > **veðere*. Similarly intervocalic *dr*,

either at the same time or later, became *ðr* in Spain and Gaul: *quadro* > **quadro*.

In *quadraginta*, *dr* > *rr*: *quarranta*, Pirson 97.

284. *T* usually remained unchanged: *tēneo*, *sitis*, *partem*, *facit*.

TL, however, seems to have regularly become *cl*: *astūla* > Pr. *ascla*; *stloppus* > **scloppus* > It. *schioppo*; *ustulare* > Pr. *usclar*. Cf. SCLIT. and SCLITIB. (from *stlis stlitis*), S. 312–313; Capér, “*Martulus* . . . non *Marculus*,” “*stlataris* sine *c* littera dicendum,” Keil VII, 105, 107; *App. Pr.*, “*capitulum* non *capiclum*,” “*vetulus* non *veclus*,” “*vitulus* non *viclus*.” For *-tulus* > *-clus*, cf. § 234.

Between *s* and *l* a *t* developed: Capér, “*pessulum* non *pestulum*” (hence Italian *pestio*, etc.), S. 315. So probably *insūla* > **isla* > **istla* > **iscla* > It. *Ischia*.

285. Final *t* fell in Volscian (*fasia*=*faciat*), often in Umbrian (*habe*), occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 7, 8. In early dialects we find such forms as CVPA, DEDE: S. 367. In Latin, final *t* disappeared early in the Empire in southern Italy, and during the Empire in most of Italy and Dacia; Rumanian, Italian (except Sardinian), and also Spanish and Portuguese show no trace of final *t* except in monosyllables. Cf. Hammer 28–32. The first sure examples of the fall in Latin are found in Pompeii; others appear later in the inscriptions in Christian Rome and northern Italy, as *ama*, *peria*, *relinque*, *valia*, *vixi*, etc.: S. 367–368, *Lat. Spr.* 472. Gaul, Rætia, and Sardinia kept the *t* late; but forms without the consonant (as *audivi*, *posui*) — possibly due to Italian stonecutters — occur in Gallic inscriptions. Fredegarius wrote *e* for *et*: Haag 29.

Final *nt* perhaps lost its *t* before consonants: *Lat. Spr.*

473-474. The Romance languages show forms with *nt*, with *n*, and without either consonant. *Nt*, in general, is preserved in the same regions as *t*. In inscriptions we find: *dedro* and *dedrot*, in Pisaurum, S. 365; *posuerun*, *restituerun*, *Lat. Spr.* 473-474. Cf. Lindsay 124.

Final *st*, likewise, may have lost its *t* before consonants — as *post illum* but *pos' me*, *est amatus* but *es' portatus*: *Lat. Spr.* 473. *Pos* is very common in inscriptions, and *es* is found: S. 368. Cf. *pos*, *posquam* in R. 470. According to Velius Longus, Cicero favored *posmeridianus*; Marius Victorinus preferred *posquam*: S. 368. Both *st* and *s* are represented in the Romance languages.

For the confusion of final *d* and *t*, see § 282: *capud*, *feced*, *inquit* are found. When *t* did not fall, it was doubtless often voiced, inside a phrase, before a vowel or a voiced consonant.

Caput became *capus* (Pirson 238) or **capum*. Fredegarius uses *capo*: Haag 29.

286. Intervocalic *t* was voiced to *d* in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, and northern Italy probably in the fifth or sixth century: cf. § 256. Inscriptions show a few such forms as *amadus*, S. 309. Such a spelling as *retere* for *reddere* (S. 309) may indicate uncertainty in the use of *d* and *t*.

Later this *d* > *ð* in northern Gaul and Spain. In Gaul and Spain, moreover, *tr* > *dr* > *ðr*. Cf. § 283.

e. LIQUIDS.

(1) *L*.

287. *L* had a convex formation, like *d* and *t* (cf. § 280): S. 306-307, 309.

288. Priscian I, 38 (S. 324) writes: "*L* triplicem, ut Plinio videtur, sonum habet: exilem, quando geminatur secundo loco

posita, ut *il-le*, *Metel-lus*; plenum, quando finit nomina vel syllabas et quando aliquam habet ante se in eadem syllaba consonantem, ut *sol*, *silva*, *flavus*, *clarus*; medium in aliis, ut *lectus*, *lectum*." Consentius distinguishes the "sonus exilis," which he ascribes to initial and double *l* (as in *lana*, *ille*), from the "pinguis," heard *before* a consonant (as in *albo*, *alga*, etc.): S. 326. Other grammarians blame, in obscure terms, a faulty pronunciation of *l* particularly prevalent in Africa or Greece: S. 325-326. See also *Zs.* XXX, 648.

It is likely that *l* before or after another consonant had a thick sound caused by lifting the back of the tongue. *Before* consonants, this formation led in some regions, sporadically by the fourth century but regularly not until the eighth and ninth and later (*Lat. Spr.* 476), to the vocalization of *l* into *u*: *καυκουλατφ* in an edict of Diocletian, 301 A.D., Eckinger 12; *cauculus* in manuscripts, *Vok.* II, 494. *After* consonants, this elevation, shifted forwards, brought about the palatalization of *l* in Spanish and Italian: *clavem* > *kl'ave* > Sp. *llave*, It. *chiave*.

According to H. Osthoff, *Dunkles und helles l im Lateinischen* in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* XXIV, 50, intervocalic *l*, except before *i*, also had the thick sound — as in *famulus* (but not in *similis*): thus is explained the different fate of *a* in *calère* > Old Fr. *chaloir* and *gallina* > Old Fr. *geline*, etc.

289. During the Latin period *l* regularly remained unchanged: *lūna*, *altus*, *mille*, *sōl*. It seems to have fallen in *tribūnal*.

For *ll* > *l*, see § 161. For *ly*, see § 274. For *sl* > *stl*, *skl*, see § 284.

(1) Metathesis occurs occasionally: Consentius (S. 327) blames "*coacla* pro *cloaca*," "*displicina* pro *disciplina*"; cf. *fabūla* > **flaba* > It. *fiaba*, etc.

(2) There are sporadic examples of the dissimilation of two *l*'s:

App. Pr., "flagellum non fragellum," "cultellum non cuntellum"; cf. MVNTV for *multum*, *C. I. L.* IV, 1593. Cf. S. 327.

(3) Marius Victorinus (Keil VI, 8) says: "Gn. Pompejus Magnus et scribebat et dicebat *kadamitatem* pro *calamitate*." Cf. § 281, (1).

(2) *R*.

290. *R* in Classic and Vulgar Latin was probably a gingival or præpalatal trill: S. 307, 309, 328. It generally resisted change: *ridet*, *carrus*, *cursus*, *pater*.

291. In many words, however, *rs* > *ss*. The principle seems to have been that original *rs* remained, while old *rss*, coming from *rtt*, was early reduced to *ss*: *Lat. Spr.* 471. Velius Longus says (S. 330): "*Dossum* per duo *s* quam per *r* quidam ut lenius enuntiaverunt, ac tota *r* littera sublata est in eo quod est *rusum* et *retrosum*." *Russum rusum*, *susum* occur in early writers; *dextrosus*, *introsus*, *rûsus*, *suso*, *susum*, etc., in inscriptions: S. 330. *App. Pr.* has *pessica*; *Gl. Reich.* has *iusû* = *deorsum*. The assimilation was not consistently carried out everywhere, being probably somewhat hindered by school influence. It took place in the whole territory in *deôrsum* and *sûrsum*; in most of the Empire in *dôrsum*; in about half the Empire in *përſica*; locally in *aliôrsum*, *retrôrsum*, *revêrsus*, *vêrsus*.

After long vowels the *ss* > *s* (see § 161); so *sûssum* > *sûsum*, while *dôssum* remained unchanged: *susum*, Waters Ch. 77; *suso susu susum*, Bechtel 83: *susum* very common, R. 460-461; *diosum*, R. 460. Cf. Corssen I, 243.

292. Moreover, there was a strong tendency to dissimilate two *r*'s, although it was only sporadically carried out: in Old Latin, *-aris* after *r* > *-alis*, as in *floralis*; *App. Pr.*, "*terebræ* non *telebræ*"; in inscriptions we find repeatedly *pelegrinus*

(Sittl 74), also *ministorum*, *perpenna* = *Perperna*, *propietas*, *propio*, S. 329; *albor*, *coliadrum*, *criblare*, *flagrare*, *meletrix*, *plurigo* are attested likewise, *Lat. Spr.* 477. Pompeius (S. 329) says: "Barbarismus, quando dico *mamor* pro eo quod est *marmor*." Cf. Italian *propio*, *dietro dietro*.

293. Velius Longus (S. 329) tells us that in elegant speech *per* before *l* was pronounced *pel*, as in *pellabor*, *pellicere*. Cf. PELLIGE, etc., S. 329. So Italian *per lo* > *pello*, *averlo* > (in Old It.) *avello*. This assimilation was probably not widespread in Latin; it has left very few traces in the Romance languages. Cf. Italian *Carlo*, *merlo*, *orlo*, *perla*, etc., *Pg* a¹⁶⁰.

294. Metathesis is not uncommon: S. 330-331. Consentius mentions "*perlum* pro *prælum*," S. 330. *Crocodilus* appears as *corcodilus*, *cocodrillus*, *corcodrillus*, S. 331; cf. Italian *cocodrillo*. S. 330 notes PRANCATI. For *quatro*, **sempre*, etc., see § 245.

An intrusive *r* is found in *culcitra*, Waters Ch. 38.

295. Final *r*, except in monosyllables, fell, probably before the end of the Vulgar Latin period, in most of Italy and Dacia: *sōror* > It. *suora*, Rum. *soaru*. Sittl 11 mentions an early fall of final *r* among the Falisci and the Marsi, as in *mate*, *uxo*; cf. FRATE, MATE.

296. *Ry* was probably preserved through the Vulgar Latin period, although it may have been reduced to *y* in parts of Italy: *cōrium* > **coryu* and possibly **cōyu* (cf. It. *cuoio*).

f. SIBILANTS.

297. *S* seems to have been dental, with the upper surface of the tongue convex (cf. § 280): S. 302, 304, 307-308.

The old voiced *s* having become *r* (S. 314-315), Classic Latin *s* was probably always voiceless and remained so in

Vulgar Latin (S. 302-304): this is indicated by the fact that intervocalic *s* is still generally surd in Spanish (*casa*, etc.) and in most popular words in Tuscan (*naso*, etc.); corroborative evidence, as far as it goes, is furnished by such spellings as *nupsi*, *pleps*, *urps*, also *maximus*, *rexi*, etc., and the development of a *p* in such words as *hiemps*, *sumpsi*. At the very end of the Vulgar Latin period, however, intervocalic *s* may have become voiced in some regions (cf. § 256): *causa*, *mīsi*, etc.¹

Classic Latin *s* was generally preserved: *sēx*, *ōssum*, *cūrsus*, *īste*.

298. Final *s* often fell in Umbrian (*kumate*), and occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 8. Cf. Sittl 27, who cites Umbrian PISAVRESE. In early Latin final *s* was very weak after *ū* and *ī*, and often was not written. Cicero (*Lat. Spr.* 471) says the loss of *-s* is "subrusticum, olim autem politius." Quintilian also (S. 361) notes the omission of *-s* by the ancients. Ennius and his followers down to Catullus did not count *-s* before a consonant in verse: S. 355-356. Cf. Pompeius (Keil V, 108): "S littera hanc habet potestatem, ut ubi opus fuerit excludatur de metro." In the older inscriptions *-s* is freely omitted, but later it is in the main correctly used until the second century of our era: *Lat. Spr.* 471. The omission is commonest in nominative *-ōs* or *-ūs*, but occurs also in *-īs* and *-ās*, rarely in *-ās*: *bonu*, *Cornelio*, *nepoti*, *pieta*, *Terentio*, *unu*, etc., and *matrona* for *matronas*, S. 361-362. According to *Chronologie* 175-186, the nominative singular without *s* (as *Cornelio*, *filio*) predominated in central Italy until the time of Cæsar, when *-s* was partially restored; but by 150 to 200 A.D. the forms without *s* became common

¹In the previously cited Latin treatise (see footnote to § 259), Thurot 77, *s* between vowels is described as "weak," except in compounds, such as *resolvit*. This evidently indicates a voicing in late school pronunciation.

again, and prevailed in central Italy in the third century (*eio* for *ejus*, *liberio*, etc.). Cf. *morbu* = *morbis*, etc., Audollent 539, 540; *filio* = *filios*, *C. I. L.* IX, 1938. In most of Italy, and probably in Dacia, final *s* disappeared for good from the common pronunciation in the second and third centuries, except in monosyllables (*Lat. Spr.* 471): *amātis* > It. *amate*, *sētīs* > It. *sentī*, *tēmpus* > It. *tempo*; but *das* > It. *dai*, *tres* > Old It. *trei* (later *tre*). Cf. Hammer 19–28, Densusianu 122–123.

In Gaul, Spain, and some other regions, *-s*, probably owing to the previous linguistic habits of the natives, was strongly pronounced and therefore preserved. Carnoy 185–206 records the omission of *-s* in many inscriptions, but notes that as this nearly always happens at the end of a line it is doubtless only a conventional abbreviation.

299. According to Velius Longus (S. 316), *trans-* became *tra-* before *d*, *j*, and sometimes before *m* and *p*: *traduxit*, *trajecit*; *tra(ns)misit*, *tra(ns)posuit*; *transtulit*. We sometimes find, however, *transduco* and *transjicio*. Both forms occur before *l* and *v*: *tra(ns)luceo*, *tra(ns)veho*.

Italy generally favored *tra-* (but *trasporre*), Gaul and Spain usually preferred *tras-* (but *traduire*, *traducir*). ;

300. In *presbȳter*, a new nominative constructed from *πρεσβύτερος*, the *s* fell in Italy and elsewhere through the substitution of the prefix *præ-* (as in *præbitor*) for the unusual initial *pres-*: hence It. *prete*, Pr. *preveire* (< **præbȳtērūm*).

301. For prosthetic *i* or *e* before *s* + consonant, see § 230. In Old French *pasmer* (from *spasmus*) the *s* was lost probably through confusion with *es-* coming from the prefix *ex-*.

302. For *ss* > *s*, see § 161. For *sy*, see § 275. For assibilation, see Gutturals and Palatals. For *z*, see § 246 and Greek Consonants.

g. NASALS.

303. *N*, like *d* and *t* (§ 280), was dental or gingival, with an arched tongue: S. 269–270.

M and *n*, initial and intervocalic, regularly remained unchanged: *mēus*, *nōster*, *amat*, *vēnit*. For the reduction of *minus*—to *mis*—, see § 245. There was a dissimilation of two *n*'s in *Bononia* > It. *Bologna*.

304. *M* and *n*, final or followed by a consonant, were obscure and weak in Classic Latin; the preceding vowel must have been partly nasalized, and the mouth closure incomplete. According to Priscian (S. 275), “*m* obscurum in extremitate dictionum sonat, ut *templum*, apertum in principio, ut *magnus*, mediocre in mediis, ut *umbra*.” Terentianus Maurus (S. 275) says that for *n* the air comes through both nose and mouth. So Marius Victorinus (S. 275): “*N* vero sub convexo palati lingua inhærente gemino naris et oris spiritu explicabitur.” The same author describes (S. 275) a sound between *m* and *n*: “Omnes fere aiunt inter *m* et *n* litteras mediam vocem quæ non abhorreat ab utraque littera sed neutram proprie exprimat.” Cf. S. 276.

305. In Classic Latin the nasal naturally took before labials the form of *m*; before dentals, *n*; before *f* and *v*, probably first *m*, then *n*, as the pronunciation of these fricatives changed from bilabial to dentilabial (cf. § 320); before gutturals, *ŋ*: *combura*, *immitto*, *imperio*; *conduco*, *contineo*, *innocens*; *confluo confuso*, *convenio convenio*; *anguis*, *inquit*, *uncus* (cf. IVNCXI, NVNCQVAM, S. 278). Cf. S. 270, 279–280. The *ŋ*—or “*n* adulterinum”—is described by Nigidius (in Gellius), and also by Priscian, as between *n* and *g* (S. 275); cf. S. 269–270, 272. Before liquids the nasal was assimilated (*colligo*, *corrigo*, etc.), before *s* it was silent (*cosul*, etc.: cf. §§ 171, 311).

Final nasals seem to have been adapted, like medial nasals, to a following consonant: *nom paret, cun dūce, nom* or *non fēcit, in carne; nol lēgo, cur rēgibus, i senātu*. Cicero advocated *cun nobis*; Servius, *cun navibus*: *Lat. Spr.* 476. In inscriptions we find *cun, locun sanctum, nomem, quan floridos, quen*, S. 364; cf. *forsitam mille*, Bechtel 81 (*forsitam*, Carnoy 220).

306. In the vulgar speech of the Empire the sound before labials seems to have been indistinct, and even before dentals not always clear (S. 271-272); before *f* and *v* there was great uncertainty (cf. §§ 171, 311), and there was apparently some doubt before *gu* and *qu* (S. 272): this is indicated by such spellings as *senper, quamta, nynfis, nunquam*, S. 276-277; *conplere, decemter*, Carnoy 176; *tan mulieribus*, Carnoy 220. Cf. Carnoy 176-177. In both old and late inscriptions the nasal is often omitted altogether before a consonant: *Decebris, ex-plu, occubas*, etc., *innoceti, laterna, secudo*, etc., *iferos*, etc., *defucta, pricipis, reliquat*, etc., S. 273, 281-285. For the change of *ηkt* to *ηt*, then to *nt*, see § 267: *santa*, etc., Pirson 92; *santo*, etc., frequent, S. 278.

The hesitation and inconsistency in spelling are certainly due in part to imperfect articulation, largely to mere carelessness in cutting, but in great measure also to the mistaken efforts of later writers to restore a real or hypothetical earlier orthography: compare the treatment of prefixes, § 32.

In late Vulgar Latin *m, n, η* must have been reinforced, as there is little trace of confusion in the Romance languages. *Sp. !*

307. *Mn* seems at one time to have been pronounced *m*: Quintilian (S. 286) says: "*Columnam et consules exempta n littera legimus*." Cf. Priscian (S. 275): "*N quoque plenior in primis sonat et in ultimis partibus syllabarum, ut nomen,*

stamen; exilior in mediis, ut *amnis*, *damnum*." Carnoy 166 has *Interamico*, for *-amn-*, from the first century.

Late inscriptions, on the other hand, show a fondness for such spellings as *calumpnia*, *dampnum* (cf. Bon. 189, *calumpnia*, *dampnare*, etc.); and *mpn* is common in the early Romance languages. It is likely that this orthography indicates a conscious and painful effort to articulate clearly. Toward the end of the Empire fashion evidently prescribed a distinct pronunciation of *mn*, counteracting a previous tendency to slur the group.

The Romance languages point to the preservation of *mn*, although it was probably assimilated into *nn* in central and southern Italy before the Empire was over (*Lat. Spr.* 476): *Interanniensis*, Carnoy 166.

308. Between *m* and *s* or *t* a *p* generally developed in Latin—that is to say, the latter part of the *m* was unvoiced and denasalized before the surd that followed; this *p* was not always written: *sum(p)si*, *sum(p)tus*, etc. Cf. S. 298.

309. Final *m* often fell in Umbrian (as in *puplu*), occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 8. In Old Latin it was weak: S. 356. It is often omitted in inscriptions down to 130 B. C., and again in late plebeian inscriptions; in the last century of the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire the traditional spelling is carefully observed: early and late such forms as *dece*, *eoru*, *mecu*, *mense*, *septe*, *unu* are very common, and conversely forms with a superfluous *m*, S. 363–364; cf. Audollent 539–540, abundant examples; *App. Pr.*, *ide*, *numqua*, *oli*, *passi*, *pride*. The omission of *-m* and the wrong use of it are very frequent in the *Per.*: *que ad modum*, *terra*, Bechtel 79; *jacente*, etc., *accedere*, etc., Bechtel 80; *dormito* for *dormitum*, Bechtel 91; cf. Bechtel 107. So R. 462,

ardente lucernam, etc. According to Quintilian (S. 362), Cato said *dice hanc*; he adds that there is scarcely any *m* audible in *tantum ille, quantum erat*.

Final *m* before vowels seems to have been, from early times, only a weak nasal glide: in *circueo* it disappears (S. 274), in poetry it may be disregarded (cf. *audiendu'st*, etc., S. 361). Before consonants it was assimilated (cf. *TAN DVRVM*, etc., S. 361): see § 305. Cf. S. 356–358, 360. Carnoy 206–221, who notes the omission of *-m* in many inscriptions under all possible conditions, reaches the conclusion that it became silent at the end of polysyllables by the first century, having disappeared very early before vowels, next before spirants and at the end of a phrase, then (by assimilation) before other consonants.

In the opinion of Schuchardt, *Vok.* I, 110–112, the preceding vowel was nasalized. The contrary view is maintained by Seelmann, 288–292. As the fall of *m* seems to have been due primarily to a failure to close the lips completely between two vowels, it is likely that the nasalization was slight.

The Romance languages point to a loss of *-m* in all words but monosyllables: *damnu(m)*, *pössu(m)*, *tēnea(m)*; *cūm*, *jam*, *quēm* (*quen*, Audollent 537). Cf. Hammer 32–41.

310. Final *n* must have been indistinct (S. 358), but it seems to have been reinforced in Classic speech (S. 286). The prefix *con-* became *co-* before vowels, as in *coactum*, *coherere*, *cohors*, *coicere*: S. 274, 282. Before *gn*, too, the final *n* of prefixes fell very early, as in *cognatus*, *cognosco*, *ignotus*: S. 274. Otherwise there is no sure proof of the fall of *-n* in Latin (S. 364–365), but there is abundant evidence of its assimilation to a following labial (IM BELLO, etc., S. 361): see § 305; cf. *Lat. Spr.* 473. For further assimilation, cf. Caper (Keil VII, 106), "*in Siciliam dicendum, non is Siciliam*": see § 311.

The Romance languages indicate the disappearance of *-n*, except in monosyllables: *nōme(n)*, *sēme(n)*; *in*, *nōn*. It probably fell late, after the Vulgar Latin period: *Lat. Spr.* 473.

For final *nt*, see § 285.

311. Before fricatives or spirants *n* regularly fell, probably through nasalization of the preceding vowel: see § 171. This phenomenon was only partially recognized by Classic authority: *-ensimus* > *-ēsīmus*, *-iens* > *-iēs*, *-onsus* > *-ōsus*, as in *vicesimus*, *toties*, *formosus* (S. 273); *ns*, however, was kept in participles, as *videns*, *mansus*; both forms were used in *-ē(n)sis* (according to Velius Longus, Cicero preferred *foresia*, *hortesia*, S. 287). Charisius (S. 286) records that "*mensam sine n littera dictam Varro ait.*" Cf. Quintilian (S. 286), "*consules exempta n littera legimus.*"

In popular speech the fall was probably constant from early times: *cesor*, *cojux*, *cosol*, *coventionid*, *iferos*, *infas*, *libes*, etc., S. 274, 281-285; Stolz 243 ff. Plautus repeatedly uses *mostrare*, Stolz 243. Terence seems to intend a rhyme in "*neque pes neque mens*," *Eunuchus* 728. Such forms are frequent in inscriptions: *cofecisse*, *cojectis*, *cojugi* (very common), *covenimus*, *ifer* (Capua, 387 A. D.), *iferi*, *ifimo*, *ifra*, *iventa*, *resurges* (on a coin of Vespasian's reign), S. 274, 281-285. So in Greek-letter inscriptions: *κλήμης*, *κόζους*, etc., Eckinger 80, 113-115. Cf. Audollent 538, *iferi*; Carnoy 177, *cojugi*, etc., *mesis*, etc.; Pirson 94, *infas*, *remasit*; *App. Pr.*, "*ansa non asa*"; R. 461-462, *pragnas* repeatedly, *mesor messor* = *mentor*. Conversely, with a superfluous *n*: *fidens* = *fides*, *quiensces*, etc., S. 274, 285; *thensaurus*, Stolz 243; "*Hercules non Herculens*," "*occasio non occansio*," *App. Pr.*; *locuplens*, *occansio*, *thensaurus*, etc., R. 459.

Before *f*, *j*, *v*, the *n* was generally restored by analogy (see § 171); such words as *conjux*, *convenio* are really new formations: S. 274. The only sure Romance traces of the loss of *n*

before these consonants in Latin are Italian *fante* and French *couvent*, although at a later date *nf* became *f* in Rætia and much of southern France.

Before *s*, the fall of *n* was permanent, and the only Romance words containing *ns* are learned terms or new formations: *mesa*, *mesis*, *pesat*, *sposus*, *tosus*; but *pensare*.

h. LABIALS.

(1) *P*.

312. *P* regularly remained unchanged: *pater*, *opus*, *corpus*.

(1) There was some sporadic confusion of *p* and *b*: BVBLICÆ, SCRIPT, S. 299; *App. Pr.*, "*plasta non blasta*," "*siziber non siziper*"; *cannabis* and It. *canapa*.

313. In Italy and perhaps elsewhere there was a tendency to drop *p* between a consonant and an *s* or *t*: *redemti*, etc., Pirson 93; *scultor*, etc., S. 299.

In a part of Italy *ps* became *ss* as early as the first century: *isse* for *ipse* is found in Pompeii, and is attested by Martial and possibly by the *icse* for *ipse* mentioned by Suetonius, *Lat. Spr.* 476.

In central and southern Italy *pt* became *tt* probably early in the Empire: *scritus*, etc., S. 299; *settembres*, 7th century, Carnoy 165. In a part of Gaul *captivus* seems to have been pronounced **caxtivus*: it may be that in Gallic speech the *pt* of this word became *xt*, as was the case with Celtic *pt* (Dottin 100; cf. Old Irish *secht-n* = *septem*, Windisch 394); or perhaps *captivus* became first **cattivus*, under the influence of Celtic **cactus* (Welsh *caeth*) = Latin *captus* (Loth 35).

314. Intervocalic *p* probably became *b* in the fifth and sixth centuries in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, and northern Italy: see § 256. Cf. Pirson 60-61: *labidem*, etc. *Pr* likewise became *br*: *Abrilis*, Pirson 61; *lebræ*, Bon. 160; *stubrum*, Haag 862.

In northern Gaul intervocalic *p* and *pr*, even in clerical Latin, developed through *b* and *br* into *β* and *βr* by the seventh century: *rivaticus*, 629 A. D., *Vok.* I, 128; *cavanna*, *Gl. Reich*.

For *pē*, *pī*, see § 273.

(2) *B.*

315. When *b* was not intervocalic, it usually remained unchanged: *bēne*, *blītum*, *oblītus*.

Mb, as in Oscan and Umbrian, became *mm* in Sicily and southern and central Italy, the *mm* being found in inscriptions as far north as Rome: *Lat. Spr.* 476. Cf. *nd*, § 281.

Before *s* or *t* it is likely that *b* regularly became *p* in Latin, although it was often written *b*: *absens apsens*, *ab-apsolvere*, *plebs pleps*, *scripsi scripsi*, *scribtum scriptum*, *trabs traps*, *urbs urps*; *App. Pr.*, "*celebs non celeps*," "*labsus non lapsus*."

Final *b* must have been often assimilated to a following consonant: *sud die*, 601 A. D., Carnoy 165.

316. In the Empire, especially in the second century, initial *b* and *v* were much confused in inscriptions (cf. *V*): *biginti*, *bixit*, *botu*, *vene*, etc., S. 240; *Baleria*, *Balerius*, *Beneria*, *Beneti*, *Betrubius*, *Bictor*, *bos*, *valneas*, Audollent 536; African *birtus*, *bita*, *boluntas*, *Vok.* I, 98; *bivere*, very common, Carnoy 140; *baluis*, Bechtel 78; *vibit*, etc., R. 456; *bobis* in *Consentius*, *Vok.* III, 68.

In the Romance languages there are few, if any, traces of such an early interchange. Probably the confusion was mainly or wholly graphic, being due to the identity in sound of *b* and *v* between vowels (§ 318): *Lat. Spr.* 473; cf. *Einf.*, § 120. The Spanish levelling of initial *b* and *v* does not go back to Vulgar Latin (Carnoy 139-141); the confusion is far commoner in Italian inscriptions than in Spanish or Gallic (Carnoy 142-146). We find also a change of initial *v* to *b* in north Portuguese, Gascon, south Italian, and Old Rumanian.

317. After liquids, too, there was a confusion of *b* and *v* in inscriptions, *b* being substituted for *v* much oftener than *v* for *b*: *Nerba*, *salbum*, *serbus*, *solbit*, etc., S. 240; *berbex*, Waters Ch. 57; *solbere*, repeatedly, Carnoy 140; *solbere*, etc., R. 455; *App. Pr.*, "*alveus non albeus*."

In all probability *v* really changed to *b* after liquids: see *V. B* remained unchanged.

318. Intervocalic *b* opened into *β*; the development apparently began in the first century, was well along in the second, and was completed, at least in Italy, in the third: *Oīuovia* = *Vibia*, Rome, Eckinger 95; *DEVERE*, *DEVITVM*, *PROVATA*, etc., S. 240. As *v* also was pronounced *β*, a confusion in spelling resulted, *b* and *v* being used indiscriminately: *CVRABIT*, *IVBENTVTIS*, *NOBE*, etc., S. 240; *IVVENTE* = *jubente*, 2d century, *Einf.* 127, § 120; *cabia* = *cavea*, *Danuvium*, *Dibona*, *iubenis*, *vovis*, etc., Audollent 536-537; *devitum* (6th century), *lebis*, *redivit*, *vibi*, Carnoy 134-135; *annotavimus*, *lebat*, Bechtel 78; *devetis*, *habe* = *ave*, *rogavo*, *suabitati*, etc., R. 455-456; cf. Stolz 51, Pirson 61-62, Carnoy 134-136. Cf. *V.*

When this *β* became contiguous to a following consonant, it was vocalized into *u*: **faula*, **paraula*, **taula*, etc. Cf. *V.*

Intervocalic *br*, perhaps not until the end of our period, became *βr* in northern Gaul, Rætia, part of northern Italy, and Dacia.

(1) In the early stages of clerical Latin intervocalic *b* was pronounced *β*, as in popular speech: **faβula*, **taβula*, etc. Later, perhaps by the seventh century, it was sounded *b*.

(2) In *App. Pr.* we find "*sibilus non sifilus*," and Priscian (S. 300) mentions "*sifilum pro sibilum*"; cf. French *siffler*. Perhaps the form with *f* comes from some non-Latin Italic dialect: cf. *bubulcus* = It. *bifolco*, and a few other words.

(3) For *habēbam* > **aβea*, see § 421.

319. *Be*, *bi* probably remained unchanged, at least in most

of the Empire: *rabies*, *rūbeus*, etc. For the analogical change of *habeo* to **ayo*, *dēbeo* to **deyo*, see § 273.

(3) *F*.

320. *F* was originally bilabial (S. 294–295), but became dentilabial by the middle of the Empire (S. 295): cf. § 305. It is the old *f*, apparently, that is described by Quintilian (S. 296–297); a plain description of the dentilabial *f* is given by Terentianus Maurus and Marius Victorinus (S. 296).

(1) Grammarians speak of an alternation of *h* and *f*: *fædus* > *hædus*, *fasena* > *harena*, *fircum* > *hircum*, *habam* > *fabam*, etc., S. 300. The *f* and the *h* doubtless belonged to different dialects in early Latin; according to Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5, § 97, the *f* for *h* was Sabine. This phenomenon can have no connection with the change of initial *f* to *h* in Spanish and Gascon.

321. It is probable that intervocalic *f* became *v* at the end of the Vulgar Latin period (cf. § 256): *alevanti* = *elephanti*, *paveveci* = *pacifici*, *pontevecem* = *pontificem*, Haag 32–33.

(4) *V*.

322. The letter *v* was doubtless originally pronounced *w*; but, losing its velar element, the sound was reduced, probably early in the Empire, to the bilabial fricative *β*. During the Empire Greek-letter inscriptions have *ov* or *β* for *v* (Νεπονα or Νερβα): Οἰονία = *Vibia*, Rome, Eckinger 95; *β* for *v* is common from the first century on, Eckinger 85–91. Velius Longus, in the middle of the second century, says that the *u* in *ualente* is pronounced “cum aliqua aspiratione”: S. 232.

Hence arises a complete confusion of intervocalic *β* and *v* (cf. *B*): CVRABIT, IVBENTVTIS, etc., S. 240; *jubari* for *juvari* in Gregory the Great. This leads to a graphic confusion of initial *β* and *v* in inscriptions: BIGINTI, BIXIT, BOTV, etc. (so INBICTO), S. 240.

Later the bilabial β became dentilabial v in most of the Empire: cf. § 305.

For the substitution of w for β or v in a few words, see Germanic Consonants.

323. After liquids β seems to have closed regularly into b ; this state was preserved in Rumanian (Densusianu 97, 103-105), but elsewhere the β or v was partially restored by school influence: CERBVS, CORBI, CVRBATI, FERBEO, NERBA (about 100 A. D.), SERBAT, SOLBIT, E. G. Parodi in *Rom.* XXVII, 177, cf. § 317. So *vervex* became **verbex*, then *berbex*: Waters Ch. 57; BERBECES, 2d century, *Einf.* 127, § 120 (also in *Gl. Reich.*).

Hence came hesitation in spelling (*ferveo*, *ferbui*, etc.) and inconsistent results in the Romance languages: *cōrvus* > It. *corbo corvo*, Fr. *corbeau*; *cūrvus* > Old Fr., Pr. *corp*, Sp. *corvo*; *nērvus* > It. *nerbo*, Fr. *nerf*; *servare*, *servire* > It. *serbare*, *servire*.

324. Intervocalic w or β had a tendency in older Latin, as in Umbrian, to disappear between two like vowels: *divinus* > *dīnus* (cf. Umbrian *deivina* > *deina*, Sittl 26), *obliviscor* > *oblīscor*, *si vis* > *sīs*. Cf. Lindsay 52. Also, at all times, before or after o : *bōvis* > *bōs*; *devorsum* > *deōrsum*; *faor*, Pirson 63; *moere*, Audollent 539; *Noεμβριος*, *Vok.* II, 479; NOEM[BRIS], S. 241; "*pavor non paor*," *App. Pr.*; cf. late *noembris*, *noicius*, Lindsay 52. "*Favilla non failla*" in *App. Pr.* seems to be isolated.

In the above cases the fall apparently was only sporadic. But before an accented o or u , the w or β fell regularly in most of the Empire: *aunculus*, *Vok.* II, 471 (cf. *auncli*, Pirson 63); FLAONIVS, S. 241; **paōnem*; **paōrem*.

Furthermore, intervocalic w or β regularly disappeared in popular speech before any u , probably towards the end of the Republic (when *-vos* > *-vus*): FLAVS, VIVS, S. 241 (cf. *flaus* in

App. Pr., *vius* in Pirson 63); *oum*, *Vok.* II, 472 (cf. *oum* in Probus, Keil IV, 113); *nous*, Audollent 539 (cf. *noum*, Pirson 63); *gneus*, Lindsay 52; *datus*, Carnoy 128; *primitius*, Pirson 63; *aus*, *rius*, *App. Pr.* Often, however, the *v* was restored, after the analogy of a feminine or a plural form: *ovum* (beside *oum*) through *ova*, *rivus* (beside *rius*) through *rivi*, etc. Cf. § 167.

(1) In inscriptions -*vs* is common in place of -*vvs*; in most cases this is probably only graphic: Carnoy 128-131. The *ÆVM* of *C. I. L.* I, 1220, cited by Schuchardt (*Vok.* II, 471) and others as *æum*, is evidently intended for *æuum*.

325. When intervocalic *w* or *β* became contiguous to a following consonant, it was vocalized into *u* (cf. *B*): Classic *claudio*, *naufragus*, etc.; Vulgar *aucella*, *triumphaut*, etc.

(5) *U*.

326. *U* in hiatus which had not already become *w* (§§ 223-224) probably took that sound by the end of the Vulgar Latin period: *eccu' hīc* > **eccwīc*, *eccu' īsta* > **eccwīsta*, *nōcui* > *nōcwi*, *placuit* > *placwit*. Before this, the original Latin *w* (spelled *v*) had become *β*: § 322.

2. GREEK CONSONANTS.

327. In Greek the surd and the sonant stops must have been less sharply differentiated than in Latin; the sonants were perhaps not fully voiced, and the surds doubtless had a weak, voiced explosion: so they were not always distinguished by the Latin ear. The Greek liquids, nasals, and sibilants usually remained unchanged in transmission.

328. Single consonants sometimes became double in Latin, and Greek double consonants sometimes became single: *νόμος* > *nummus*; *ἐκκλησία* > *ec(c)lesia*. Cf. Claussen 847-851.

(1) B, Γ, Δ.

329. B, γ, δ regularly remained *b, g, d*: βλαιοσός > *blasus*; γάρων > *garum*; δέλτα > *delia*. Sometimes, however, they were unvoiced into *p, c, t*: Ἰάκωβος > **Jácorus* (also **Jácomus*); γόγγρος > *conger gonger*, σπήλυγγα > *spelunca*; κέδρος > *citrus*. Cf. Claussen 833-838.

Γμ > *um* (cf. § 268): σάγμα > *sagma sauma*.

(2) K, Π, T.

330. K, π, τ generally remained *c, p, t*: κόλαφος > *colaphus*; πορφύρα > *purpura*; τάλαντον > *talentum*.

K, however, often became *g*; π sometimes became *b*; of a change of τ to *d* there is no example, although κάνδιτος for *candidus* (Eckinger 98) seems to point in that direction: Ἀκράγας > *Acragas Agražas*, κάμμαρος > *cammarus gammarus*, κόμμι > *gummi*, κυβερνᾶν > *gubernare*, κωβιός > *gobius*; cf. EGLOGE, PROGNE, S. 346; App. Pr., "*calatus non galatus*" (= κάλαθος); the confusion is mentioned by Terentius Scaurus and others, S. 347; — πύξος > *buxus*, πυρρός > *burrus*, cf. *bustiola* in *Gl. Reich*.

Κν > *cin* in κύκνος > *cicinus* > Old. It. *cecino*.

331. After nasals, κ, π, τ regularly came to be pronounced *g, b, d* in Greek: ἀνάγκη > *anāngi*, λαμπρός > *lambrós*, ἄντρον > *ándron*. This late Greek pronunciation perhaps accounts for such cases as καμπή > Lat. *gamba*, τύμπανον > Fr. *timbre*, σάνταλον > Fr. *sandal*. Cf. Claussen 838-841.

(3) Θ, Φ, Χ.

332. The explosives θ, φ, χ became in Old Latin *t, p, c* (S. 252-253): πορφύρα > *purpura*; old inscriptions, *Pilípus*, etc., S. 259; later inscriptions, *Teodor, nimpæ, Cristo*, etc., S. 259-260. From the middle of the second century B. C. we find the spellings TH, PH, CH: Claussen 823-833. People of fashion

undoubtedly tried to imitate the aspirates (Lindsay 54), but popular speech kept the old *t, p, c*, for new words as well as for old: *σπαθή* > *spatha* = *spata*; *κόλαφος* > *colaphus* = *colapus*, *συμφωνία* > It. *zampogna*, *φάλαγξ* > It., Sp. *palanca*, *φαντασία* > Pr. *pantaisar*; *χορδή* > *chorda* = *corda*.

Quintilian (S. 256) says there were no aspirate consonants in older Latin. Cicero (S. 256) speaks of using the old, un-aspirated pronunciation (as *pulcros*, *trumpōs*) in order to be better understood. The proper spelling is discussed by grammarians: S. 257-258.

The letter *h* is occasionally misused, as in *PHOSIT*, *PACHE*, etc.: S. 260. It is transposed in *Phitonis*, *phitonissæ*, Bonnet 141, 218; cf. *Fitonis*, *Fitones* in *Gl. Reich*.

333. In *φάλλαυα* > *ballæna*, and some other early adoptions, *φ* > *b*; perhaps the reason is to be sought in a Greek dialect pronunciation: Claussen 829-831. In *δοχή* > *doga*, etc., *χ* > *g*: Claussen 831. In *θεῖος* > It. *zio* we have a late development of *θ*; cf. *App. Pr.*, "*Theophilus* non *izofilus*": Claussen 833.

(1) Evidence of a late school pronunciation of *θ* as *ts* is to be found in Thurot 78, 79 (cf. footnote to § 259): "*T* quoque, si aspietur, ut *c* enuntiatur, ut *ather*, *nothus*, *Parthi*, *cathedra*, *catholicus*, *etheus*, *Matheus*" . . . "In principio inquam dictionis nulla prescripta causa variari compellitur, ut *thiara*, *Thiestes*, *Thestius*, *Thescelus*, *Theos*."

334. By the first century A. D., *φ* had developed into *f* in some places (S. 261): *DAFNE* occurs in Pompeii, Claussen 828; *f* is common later in southern Italy, S. 261. Certainly as early as the fourth century (Lindsay 58) *f* came to be the standard pronunciation: *App. Pr.*, "*amfora* non *ampora*," "*strofa* non *stropa*"; Bechtel 79, *neofiti*; so *ὀφῆκιον* for *officium*, etc., Eckinger 97. In late words *φ* regularly appears as *f*: *φάσηλος* > *phaselus faselus*; *κέφαλος* > It. *cefalo*; etc.

(4) LIQUIDS, NASALS, AND SIBILANTS.

335. The liquids regularly remained unchanged: λαμπρός > *lampas*; ῥήτωρ > *rhētor*. *Rh* in common speech was doubtless pronounced like *r*.

In σέλινον > It. *sedano*, and a few other words, we probably have to do with a late Greek change of λ to δ.

336. The nasals, too, regularly remained unchanged: μαῦρος > *maurus*; νομή > *nome*. There are, however, some indications that they were weak before consonants: βόμβος > Pr. *bobansa*, etc. Cf. Claussen 845.

337. Of the sibilants, σ and ξ were regularly unchanged: σίναπι > *sinapis*; ἔξοδος > *exodus*. In ὄσμη? > It. *orma*, σ has probably become *r*. For πρεσβύτερος > *prebiter*, see § 300.

The unfamiliar combination ψ lent itself readily to metathesis: ψάλλειν > *psallere spallere*.

For ζ, see below.

(5) Z.

338. Z doubtless had several pronunciations in Greek. In early Latin it was represented by *ss* or *s*: μάζα > *massa*, ζώνη > *sona* (Plautus). From Sulla's time on it was written *z* in Latin: Claussen 841-843. The grammarians throw no light on the Latin pronunciation. Quintilian refers only to the Greek letter and the lack of a corresponding Latin one; Velius Longus discusses *z* at length, as a simple sound, but seems to be referring only to Greek speech: S. 308. Priscian (Keil II, 36) says that ζ is sounded *sd*, but was often replaced, among the ancients, by *s*, *ss*, or *d*—as in *Saguntum*, *massa*, *Medentius*.

339. Judging from inscriptions, it was pronounced in Vulgar Latin *dy*, later *y* (cf. § 272), and subsequent developments confirm this view: *baptizare* was equivalent to *bapti(d)yare*,

zelosus to (*d*)*yelosus*. The ending *-i(d)yare* became very common: see § 33.

The spelling *di* for *z* occurs repeatedly: *baptidiare* is found several times in *Per.* (90, 22, etc.; cf. Bechtel 79), and is common in inscriptions (cf. *baptidiatus*, Carnoy 163); *oridium* for *ōpυζα*, *Lat. Spr.* 473. Conversely, *z* is often used for *di*: *ZABVLLVS*, *Vok.* I, 68; *zabulus*, *zacones*, Koffmane 38; *Lazis* = *Ladiis*, *zabulus*, *zaconus*, *zebus*, *zeta* = *diæta*, *zosum* = *deorsum*, *R.* 457-458.

In late inscriptions *z* for *j* is common: *zerax* = *ἱεραξ* (202 A. D.), *zanuari*, *Vok.* I, 69; *ZESV*, *ZVNIOB*, *S.* 239; *Ζουλεία* = *Julia*, *κόζους* = *conjux*, Eckinger 80. Cf. *septuazinta*, Carnoy 163.

3. GERMANIC CONSONANTS.

340. Most of the consonants offer no peculiarities, being treated as in Latin. A few, however, had no Latin equivalents: *ð*, *þ*, *h*, and *w*. Furthermore, *b* and *k* came in after the corresponding Latin sounds had undergone some modification.

341. *B* between vowels, occurring apparently only in words adopted after Latin intervocalic *b* had become *β* (§ 318), remained a stop: *roubôn* > *It. rubare*, **sriban* > *Pr. estribar*.

G, although it can scarcely have come in time to share in the early palatalization of Latin *g* before front vowels (§§ 258 ff.), seems to have followed a similar course, and to have participated also in the later Gallic palatalization of *g* before *a* (§ 263): *gilda* > *It. geldra*, **giga* > *Pr., It. giga*, *geisla* > *Pr. giscle*; *garba* > *Fr. gerbe*, *garto* > *Old Fr. jart*.

K resisted front vowels: *skëna* > *Sp. esquëna*, *skërnôn* > *It. schernire*; so **rik-itia* > *Pr. riqueza*, etc. *Franko* seems to have been an early acquisition, and its derivatives palatalized their *k* before *e* and *i*: *frank-iscus* > *It. Francesco*, etc. In the

regions where Latin *c* was palatalized, in the seventh century and later, before *a* (§ 263), Germanic *k* was modified in the same way before all front vowels (including *a*): cf. Old Fr. *eschine*, *eschernir*, *richesse*; so *blank-a* > Fr. *blanche* (but It. *bianca*).

342. The spirants *ð* and *þ* were replaced in Latin by the corresponding stops, *d* and *t*: *wiðarlon* > It. *guiderdone*; *hau-niþa* > Fr. *honte*, *þahso* > It. *tasso*, *þarrjan* > Fr. *tarir*, *þrêscan* > Pr. *trescar*. Cf. Kluge 500.

343. Germanic *h* appeared when Latin *h* had long been silent in popular speech.

At the beginning of a word it kept its sound in northern Gaul, but apparently was neglected in the rest of the Empire: *hanca* > Fr. *hanche*, Sp. *anca*; *hapja* > Fr. *hache*, Pr. *apcha*; *hardjan* > Fr. *hardir*, It. *ardire*; *hêlm* > Old Fr. *helme*, It. *elmo*. Bon. 445 notes that *ab*, rather than *a*, is used before initial *ch*: *ab Chilperico*, etc.

Intervocalic *h* disappeared in most words, but in a few—perhaps borrowed at a different date—it seems to have been sounded *kk* in the greater part of the Empire: *fêhu* > Fr., Pr. *feu*, It. *fio*; *skiuhan* > Fr. *esquiver*, It. *schivare*; *spêhôn* > Old Fr. *espier*, Pr. *espiar*; —*jêhan* > Old Fr. *jehir*, Pr. *gequir*, It. *gecchire*, Old Sp. *jaquir*.

As *ht* were generally treated like Latin *ss*, *tt*: *þahso* > It. *tasso*; —*slahia* > Old Fr. *esclate*, Pr. *esclata*, It. *schietta*; *slêht* > Pr. *esclat*, It. *schietto*. But *wahta*, doubtless adopted at a different time, became Old Fr. *gaite*, Pr. *gaita*; cf. It. *guatare*.

344. Germanic *w* was a strong velar and labial fricative, at a time when original Latin *w* (spelled *v*) had become the purely labial fricative *β* (§ 322). It was nearer in sound to Latin *u*: see § 326. In the *Gl. Reich*. we find it

represented by *uu*, in *uuadius*, *reuardent*, etc. Bon. 167 records *Euua*, *wa* (the interjection), *Waddo*, *walde*, *Wandali*, etc. It is generally written *w* in Fredegarius, but *Wintrio* is spelled *Quintrio*: Haag 38.

In extreme northern and eastern Gaul, in northwestern Italy, and in Rætia this *w* apparently remained unchanged in the Vulgar Latin period; elsewhere, through a reinforcement of its velar element, it became *gw*: *warjan* > **warire* *guarire*, *wërra* > *werra* *guerra*, *wisa* > **wisa* *guisa*.

Through association with Germanic words, the *β* of some Latin words was changed to *w*: *vadum* + *watan* > **wadum*, *vastare* + *wost-* > **wastare*, etc.

See E. Mackel, *Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provenzalischen Sprache*, 1884; W. Waltemath, *Die fränkischen Elemente in der französischen Sprache*, 1885; W. Bruckner, *Charakteristik der germanischen Elemente im Italienischen*, 1899.

IV. MORPHOLOGY.

A. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

1. GENDER.

345. The three genders of Latin were not, in the main, dependent on sex or lack of sex. They were grammatical distinctions, whose observance was a matter of outward form. If words lost their differentiating terminations, confusion of gender ensued.

a. MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

346. Between masculine and feminine there was not much confusion, but there were some important shifts:—

(1) Feminines of the second declension nearly all became masculine: *fraxinus*, etc.; cf. *castaneus* for *castanea*, Bon. 1944. Feminines of the fourth declension varied (*Gram.* II, 461): *dōmus*, *ficus*, *manus*.

(2) In Gaul, abstract nouns in *-or*, through the analogy of the great majority of abstract terms, became feminine (Bon. 503–504): *color*, *honor*, *Lat. Spr.* 483; *dolor*, *timor*, Bon. 504.

(3) Nouns that had a proparoxytonic accusative in *-erem*, *-icem*, *-inem*, *-orem*, or *-urem* were of uncertain gender (*Gram.* II, 464–467): *carcērem*, *pulicem*, *marginem*, *lepōrem*, *turtūrem*.

(4) There were some sporadic changes: *duos arbores*, Pirs. 157; *cucullus* and *cuculla*, G. 293; *fons* feminine in late Latin, *Lat. Spr.* 483; *grex* became feminine.

(5) See also § 351.

b. MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

347. In Classic Latin a number of neuters became masculine: *balteum* -us, *caseum* -us, *cornu* -um -us, *frenum* -i, *nasum* -us, *tergum* -us, *vadum* -us; cf. *collus* -um, *lectus* -um.

In popular and late Latin this tendency was strong: ante-Classic, m. *papaver*; Plautus, m. *guttur*, *dorsus* (*Mil. Glor.* II, 4, 44), *lactem* (*Bacch.* V, 2, 16); Varro, m. *murmur*; Petronius, *balneus*, *cælus*, *fatus*, *lactem*, *vasus* -um, *vinus*, etc., Waters Ch. 39, 41, 42, 57, Densuvianu 129, 132; *collus*, *me[nt]us*, etc., Audolent 545; MARIS, MAREM, Densuvianu 132; *castellus*, *fœnus*, *lignus*, *signus*, *templus*, *verbus*, *vinus*, etc., R. 266; *sulphurem*, G. 293; *frigorem*, *maris* nom. sg., *marmorem*, *pectorem*, *roborem*, Bon. 348; *incipit iudicius*, etc., D'Arbois 135. Beside *lūmen*, *nōmen*, *pīper* there must have been **lūminem*, **nōminem*, **pīperem*.

Conversely we find *cīnus*, n., for *cīnis*, *cīner*, m.; there must have been a **pūlvus*, n., beside *pūlvīs*, m. and f. (*Lat. Spr.* 483); Petronius has *thesaurum*, Waters Ch. 46. Cf. *gladium*, *laqueum*, *puteum*, *thesaurum*, etc., R. 270-272.

Cf. Bon. 345-349, 507-509. For the confusion of masculine and neuter in Africa, see *Archiv* VIII, 173.

348. The transition from masculine to neuter is facilitated by the fall of final *m* (§ 309), and also by the fall of final *s* in the regions where that phenomenon occurred (§ 298). These changes reduced considerably the distinguishing marks of the two genders:—

N	<i>filii(s)</i>	<i>folii</i>	<i>comē(s)</i>	<i>corpu(s)</i>
	<i>filii</i>	<i>folii</i>	<i>comiti(s)</i>	<i>corpori(s)</i>
	<i>filio</i>	<i>folio</i>	<i>comiti</i>	<i>corpori</i>
	<i>filii</i>	<i>folii</i>	<i>comite</i>	<i>corpu(s)</i>
	<i>filio</i>	<i>folio</i>	<i>comite</i>	<i>corpore</i>
	<i>filii</i>	<i>folia</i>	<i>comite(s)</i>	<i>corpora</i>
	<i>filioru</i>	<i>folioru</i>	<i>comitu</i>	<i>corporu</i>
	<i>filii(s)</i>	<i>folii(s)</i>	<i>comitibu(s)</i>	<i>corporibu(s)</i>
	<i>filio(s)</i>	<i>folia</i>	<i>comite(s)</i>	<i>corpora</i>
	<i>filii(s)</i>	<i>folii(s)</i>	<i>comitibu(s)</i>	<i>corporibu(s)</i>

In the second declension the only difference is in the nominative singular and the nominative and accusative plural; and in Italy and Dacia the distinction disappears even in the nominative singular. In the third declension the genders are distinguished only in the accusative singular and the nominative and accusative plural.

349. Thus the masculine and neuter inflections came to be fused, the characteristic neuter plural *-a* being regarded as an alternative masculine plural ending: Petronius writes *nervia* for *nervi*, Waters Ch. 45; cf. *rivus rivotra*, Zs. XXX, 635. So *lōcus*, *mūrus*, for instance, give in Italian: sg. *luogo*, *muro*; pl. *luoghi* *luogora*, *muri mura*. Cf. § 351.

Nearly all neuters became masculine: *os locutus est*, R. 266; *donum caelestem*, etc., R. 277; *hunc saeculum*, *hunc stagnum*, *hunc verbum*, *hunc vulnere*, Bon. 386, 348. *Mare*, however, perhaps influenced by *terra*, generally became feminine: *maris*, m. and f., Densusianu 132; *mare*, f., Haag 48. Greek neuters in *-ma*, if popular, generally became feminine: *cyma*, *sagma*.

The loss of the neuter gender for nouns was probably not complete until early Romance times. Cf. *Archiv* III, 161.

350. Among pronouns, the neuter forms were kept to express an indefinite idea: *hōc*, *id ipsum*, *illud* or *illum*, *quid*, *quod*.

Neuter adjective forms were used for a similar purpose: in the early stages of the Romance languages we find phrases pointing to such Vulgar Latin constructions as **mihi est grave quod ille non veniat*, etc.

c. FEMININE AND NEUTER.

351. Classic Latin often used not only the singular for the plural in a collective sense (as *eques*, *miles*, etc., in Livy: cf. Draeger I, 4), but also the collective plural for the singular

(as *frigora*, *marmora*, *rura*: cf. Draeger I, 5-9; *Archiv* XIV, 63). So the neuter plural forms in *-a* were preserved in their collective use after the neuter singular forms had disappeared.

This formation in *-a* was extended to many masculine (cf. § 349) and even to some feminine nouns: *digita*, *fructa*, *fusa*, *grada* occur in late Latin, *Lat. Spr.* 482. Cf. Old Fr. *crigne* < ? **crinea* = *crines*; It. *dita*, *frutta*, etc.; Sardinian, Apulian, Rumanian *frunza* < ? **frondia* = *frondes*.

352. In late Latin and early Romance this collective plural in *-a* came to be taken for a feminine singular: *tribula* sg., R. 269; *gaudia* sg., Bon. 351; *ligna* . . . *ardet* (cf. *rama*), *Gl. Reich.*; *hic est iesta*, D'Arbois 10; cf. *ne forte et mihi hæc eveniat*, etc., R. 435. The feminine character of such words was doubtless reinforced by the use, for instance, of an **illa pectora* to match *quæ pectora*: *Chronologie* 199. Conversely, *palpebrum* for *palpebra* occurs, R. 270.

Hence arose such feminine singular forms as **brachia*, **folia*, *gaudia*, *gesta*, *ligna*, etc., for which a new plural was created: *brachias*, Audollent 548; *armentas*, *membras*, *Gl. Cassel*; *ingenias*, *simulachras*, *Gl. Reich.*

In most of the Romance territory the *-a* forms were kept only as feminine singulars, but many were preserved as plurals in central and southern Italy and Rumania.

353. Aside from these, few neuter nouns became feminine: *marmor*, f., occurs in late Latin, *Lat. Spr.* 483. For *mare* and Greek neuters in *-ma*, see § 349. For *cinus* = *cinis*, **pulvus* = *pulvis*, see § 347.

2. DECLENSION OF NOUNS.

354. For the use of cases, see §§ 85-100. By the end of the Vulgar Latin period the cases were generally reduced,

except in Dacia, to two,—a nominative and an accusative-ablative,—the plural following the analogy of the singular. In Dacia the dative singular was to some extent preserved also: § 91. Cf. K. Sittl in *Archiv* II, 550.

355. The number of declensions was reduced to three, the fourth and fifth being absorbed by the others.

(1) The transfer from the fourth to the second began in Classic Latin and continued in vulgar and late speech: *dōmus*, *fīcus*, so *frūcti*, *senāti*; *gustus* in Petronius; *manos*, Audollent 544; *jusso*, *passos*, Bechtel 86; *cornum*, *fructo fructos*, *gelus*, *genum*, *gradus*, *senatus*, *spiritus*, etc., R. 260–262, 270; *lacus*, *mercatus*, G. 282–283; *jusso*, *lucto*, etc., Bon. 135. All the fourth declension eventually went over. One result of the intermediate confusion was an accusative plural spelling *-us* for *-os*, which was very common in Gaul: Bon. 337–338.

(2) The transfer of nouns in *-ies* from the fifth to the first declension began also in Classic Latin: *effigies -ia*, *luxuries -ia*, *materies -ia*. *Acia*, *facia*, *glacia*, *scabia* are attested later: Den-
susianu 133, *Lat. Spr.* 482. All passed over in the greater part of the Empire; but *-ies* was kept in the Spanish peninsula, in southern Italy and Sardinia, and occasionally in southern Gaul, being assimilated to the third declension: cf. Sp. *haz*, Pr. *glatz*, etc. *Dies* maintained itself, as a third declension noun, beside *dia*.

Fifth declension nouns not in *-ies* went into the third: *res rem*, *spes spem*, etc. There was also an inflection *spes spene(m)*, whence Italian *spene* (cf. SPENI): W. Heræus in *Archiv* XIII, 152.

356. The other declensions generally held their own, but there were a few shifts:—

(1) For an inflection *mama mamāne(m)*, etc., see § 359.

(2) For an inflection *Bellus Bellōne(m)*, etc., see § 362. Beside *ervum ervi*, there was an *ervus ervoris*: *Lat. Spr.* 483. *Fīmus fīmi*, under the influence of *stercus*, apparently became *fēmus* (*Gl. Reich.*) **fēmōris*: cf. Old Fr. *fiens*, Pr. *femps*. *Fūndus fūdi* perhaps became *fūndus* **fūndōris*: Old Fr. *fonz*, Pr. *fons*, Fr. *effondrer*. Beside *terminus -i*, there was a *termen terminis*.

(3) On the other hand, *ōs* > *ōssum* (R. 259-260), *vas* > *vasum vasus* (Waters Ch. 57); so apparently *ros* > **rōsum* (cf. Fr. *arroser*, It. *rugia*, etc.); beside *coclear* there was *coclearium*. *Caput* became *capus* (Pirson 238) and **capum -i*: cf. *Ltblt.* XXVII, 367. *Corpo* for *corpore* occurs in the *Per.*: Bechtel 86.

Greek nouns of the third declension sometimes passed into the first: *absis* > *absida*, G. 280; *lampas* > *lampada*, R. 258-259, G. 280, Dubois 258; *pyxis* > **buxida*; *siren* > *sirena*, G. 280. So a few Latin nouns: *juventus* or *-tas* > *juventa*, likewise *tempesta* (*Gl. Reich.*) and probably **potesta*; but the old forms were retained also. *Puulva* for *pūlvīs* is recorded by Audolent 416.

a. FIRST DECLENSION.

357. In countries which did not lose final *s* (§ 298), the accusative plural form came to be used as a nominative plural. This use was due in the main to the analogy of the singular, where there was only one form, and of feminine nouns of the third declension, which had only one form in the plural: *filia filia(m)*, *matres matres*, hence *filiās filias*. So *linguas*, Audolent 546. It probably was not common until late Vulgar Latin or early Romance times.

In Italy and Dacia, where the fall of *-s* made the accusative plural identical with the singular, the nominative plural was kept instead.

(1) According to Mohl, *Chronologie* 205-209, the nominative plural in *-as* was probably old in some parts of Italy: SCALAS, nom., 57 B. C.; LIBERTI LIBERTASQUE, Dalmatia; HIC QVESCUNT DVS MRES DVAS FILIAS, Africa. M. Bréal, *Journal des savants* 1900, Feb., p. 70, affirms that there was a feminine in *-a* with a plural in *-as* in Oscan, and also in Latin down to the second century B. C.; Celtic, too, had a similar plural. D'Arbois 21-24 assumes Celtic influence: *hic sunt cartas*, etc. No foreign influences are needed to explain the practice, but they may have helped its diffusion.

358. An ablative in *-abus* is occasionally found: *Cassiabus*, *feminabus*, *filiabus*, *pupillabus*, *Archiv* VIII, 171; *deabus*, *filiabus*, etc., Pirson 115-116; *animabus*, *famulabus*, *filiabus*, *villabus*, Bon. 331. This form left no traces in Romance.

359. Feminine proper names and words denoting persons often developed, rather late, an inflection in *-ānis*, etc., or *-ēnis*, etc., probably under the influence of the consonantal declension of Greek names that was in vogue in schools. Pupils were taught to inflect *Glaucē Glaucēnis*, *Nicē Nicēnis*, etc. (R. 264); cf. Dante's *Semellē*, etc.: hence arose *Anna Annānis* or *-ēnis*, *mamma mammānis*, *amita *amitānis* (so *Juliana Julianēnis* in Pirson 143), cf. W. Heræus in *Zs. fr. Spr.* XXV, ii, 136. Some masculine person-names in *-a* had the same declension (*Einf.* 150, § 153): *barba barbani*, *sacrista *sacristanis* (cf. It. *sacristano*), *scriba *scribanis* (cf. It. *scrivano*). Both *mamani* and *tatani* are found in the third century: W. Heræus in *Archiv* XIII, 152-153. See G. Paris, *Les accusatifs en -ain*, *Rom.* XXIII, 321; E. Philipon, *Les accusatifs en -on et en -ain*, *Rom.* XXXI, 201; W. Meyer-Lübke in *Ltblt.* XXV, 206; G. Salvioni in *Rom.* XXXV, 198. In *Lat. Spr.* 483, Meyer-Lübke expresses doubt whether the feminine *-a -ānis* is connected with masculine *tatani*, etc.

This feminine inflection left some traces in Gaul, Rætia, and Italy: Fr. *nonnain*, *putain*, etc.; Lombard *madrane*, etc., *Rom.* XXXV, 207.

(1) G. Salvioni, *La declinazione imparisillaba in -a -âne, -o -ône, -e éne -îne, -i ine -éne*, *Rom. XXXV*, 198, shows that these forms of declension were very common in the mediæval Latin documents of all parts of Italy, from 750 on: *amitane*, 218; *Andreani*, 216; *barbane*, 214-215; *domnani*, 219; *Joanneni*, 250; etc. *Attane*, *barbane* still exist at both ends of Italy. According to Salvioni, the starting-point of all this inflection was *bárba barbánis*, from which it was extended to other nouns of relationship and to proper names; *bárba barbánis* itself he would ascribe to the influence of the synonymous **bárbo *barbónis*. A Germanic origin is postulated by J. Jud, *Recherches sur la g  n  se et la diffusion des accusatifs en -ain et en -on*, 1907; also in *Archiv fur das Studium der neueren Sprachen XXIV*, 3-4, 405.

(2) A. Zimmermann, *Zs. XXVIII*, 343, shows that there was also an inflection in *-  tis*, *-  tis*, and *-  tis*: *Aureliati*, *Agneti*, etc. Cf. *Eugeneti* from *Eugen  s*, *R.* 264, Dubois 250; *Andreate*, *Rom. XXXV*, 216; also *Joannentis*, *Rom. XXXV*, 250.

360. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the first declension was reduced to this pattern:—

<i>luna</i>	<i>fac��a</i>	<i>*fol��a</i>
<i>luna</i>	<i>fac��a</i>	<i>fol��a</i>
<i>lune lunas</i>	<i>fac��e fac��as</i>	<i>fol��e fol��as</i>
<i>luna(s)</i>	<i>fac��a(s)</i>	<i>fol��a(s)</i>

In Dacia the dative singular (*lune*, etc.) was kept also.

b. SECOND DECLENSION.

361. As neuter nouns became masculine, they assumed, partly in Vulgar Latin but mostly in Romance, the masculine inflection in those countries where the masculine and neuter differed: *vinus*, etc. Cf. §§ 347-349.

The plural in *-a*, however, was retained to a considerable extent, especially in southern and central Italy and Dacia. Some masculines took this *-a*, by the analogy of *bracchia*, etc.: **botella*, **botula*, *digita*, *fructa*, *rama*, etc. Cf. §§ 349, 351-352.

362. From the seventh century on,—perhaps under Germanic influence combined with the analogy of the Latin type

gúlo gulónis, etc.,—there developed in Gaul, Rætia, Italy, and possibly Spain, a declension *-us* (or *-o*) *-ónis* for masculine proper names: *Húgo Húgon* was Latinized into *Húgo Hugónē(m)* (cf. § 152); *avus avi* > *avo avonis*, attested in Lucca in 776 (*Rom. XXXV*, 204); hence *Pétrus* or *Pétro Petrónē(m)*, *Paulus* or *Paulo Paulónē(m)*, etc. Cf. Pirson 133: *Bellus Belloni*, *Firmus Firmonis*. See E. Philippon in *Rom. XXXI*, 201; G. Salvioni in *Rom. XXXV*, 198.

Traces of this inflection are to be seen especially in French and Provençal proper names: *Foucon*, *Huon*, etc. So perhaps Italian *Donatoni*, *Giovannoni*, etc., and possibly Corsican *bañoni*, *suceroni*: *Rom. XXXV*, 212–213.

363. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the second declension followed this pattern:—

<i>annu(s)</i>	<i>faße(r)</i>	<i>vinu(s)</i>	<i>braccju *us</i>	<i>fructu(s)</i>
<i>annu -o</i>	<i>fabru -o</i>	<i>vinu -o</i>	<i>braccju -o</i>	<i>fructu -o</i>
<i>anni</i>	<i>fabri</i>	<i>vini</i>	<i>braccja -i</i>	<i>fructi -a</i>
<i>anno(s)</i>	<i>fabro(s)</i>	<i>vino(s)</i>	<i>braccja -o(s)</i>	<i>fructo(s) -a</i>

The letters enclosed in parentheses were silent in Italy and Dacia. In Gaul the accusative plural ending was often spelled *-us*: Bon. 337–338; cf. § 355, (1).

c. THIRD DECLENSION.

364. In the ablative there was considerable confusion of *-i* and *-ē* in Classic Latin: *marī marē*, *turrī turrē*, etc. This was carried further in common speech: cf. *Vok.* II, 85, 87. The ablative in *-ē* finally triumphed, but there are some traces of *-i*: It. *pari*, etc.

365. In the accusative plural there was still greater confusion of *-is* and *-ēs* (*nubēs nubīs*, etc.), both in Classic and in Vulgar Latin: cf. *Vok.* I, 247–249. Apparently *-ēs* crowded out the rarer *-is*, which left no sure traces.

Italian *pani*, etc., Rumanian *pîni*, etc., are best explained, as by Tiktin 565-566, through the analogy of the second declension: see § 368. Cf. *folli* for *folles* in *Gl. Reich*.

366. In the nominative singular the common *-is* largely displaced the less frequent *-ēs*: *Vok.* I, 244-247, III, 116; *Caper*, "*fames non famis*," *Keil* VII, 105; *App. Pr.*, "*nubes non nubis*"; *ædis, famis, nubis*, etc., *R.* 263; *famis*, etc., *Sepulcri* 220.

As *-ēs* and *-is* came to be pronounced alike before the end of the Vulgar Latin period (cf. §§ 174, 243), it is futile to trace the Romance forms phonetically to one source rather than the other.

367. Nouns which added a syllable in the genitive, without a change of accent, tended in popular speech to use for the nominative a form in *-is*, *-es*, or *-e* fashioned on the model of the oblique cases: so *sæps* > *sæpes*, *stips* > *stipes*; *Jovis*, nom., in *Ennius*, *Varro*, *Petronius* (*Waters* Ch. 47); *lacte* in *Ennius*, *Plautus*, *Petronius* (*Waters* Ch. 38), *Apuleius*, *Aulus Gellius*; *bovis* in *Varro*, *Petronius* (*Waters* Ch. 62); *carnis* in *Livy*; *stirpis* in *Livy*, *Prudentius*; *suis* in *Prudentius* (*F. D'Ovidio* in *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro D'Ancona* 627); *lentis* in *Priscian*; *calcis* in *Venantius Fortunatus*; *divite*, etc., *Audollent* 545-547; "*grus non gruis*," *App. Pr.*; *principens* (= *principis*), *R.* 263; *antestetis*, *superstitis*, *Vok.* III, 9; *urbis*, *Haag* 45; *pedis*, *travis* (three times), *Gl. Reich.*; cf. *Chronologie* 203, *Lat. Spr.* 481. These forms prevailed in Romance, perhaps in late popular Latin.

In Vulgar Latin this formation was extended to words with a shift of accent: *excellente* for *excellens* in *Petronius*, *Waters* Ch. 45, 66; *audace*, *castore*, *latrone*, *victore*, *voluntate*, etc., *Audollent* 545-547; *heredes*, *R.* 263; *cardonis*, *papilionis* (cf. *aculionis* for *aculeus*), *Gl. Reich.*; *heredes*, etc., *D'Arbois* 85-88.

These forms, too, prevailed in Romance, except for names of persons, which, being used mainly in the nominative and vocative, retained and generally preferred the old nominative form: *hōmo*, *sōror*, etc.; *cantātor*, *servītor*, etc. But names of persons in *-ans* and *-ens* usually made over the nominative: *parentis*, etc. (also *presentis*, etc.), D'Arbois 85-88; so, no doubt, **amantis*, etc. (also **clamantis*, etc.), but *infans* (also *prægnans*).

368. In most of the Romance languages (but not Spanish), masculine nouns made over their nominative plural on the model of the second declension, which was regarded as the normal masculine type: *fīlii*, hence **patri*; *lūpi*, hence **cani*; *anni*, hence **mē(n)si*.

The process may have begun in the Vulgar Latin period, but there is virtually no evidence that it started so early: in late Latin, however, *elifanti* is common, according to Bon. 367; *parentorum* is frequent in charters; in the *Gl. Cassel*, made in Italy in the eighth or ninth century, we find *sapienti*.

369. Neuters in *-n* and *-s* regularly kept their nominative-accusative singular, as *nōme(n)*, *cōrpus cōrpu(s)*; for **lūmi-ne(m)*, **nōmīne(m)*, beside the old forms, see § 347. For the nominative-accusative plural, however, they constructed, probably in late Vulgar Latin or early Romance, new forms on the masculine pattern, as **nōmes* **nōme(s)*, **cōrpes* **cōrpe(s)*; but in Italy and Rumania the old ones, especially those in *-ōra*, were kept also (*Lat. Spr.* 482). In these countries *-ōra* was used as a plural ending (It. *corpo*, *corpi corpora*; Rum. *timp*, *timpurī*), and was extended in Old Italian to the second, in Rumanian to both the second and first declensions: cf. Tiktin 566.

Neuters in *-r*, which apparently became masculine or

feminine earlier than the others, often developed an accusative singular in *-e(m)* as well as a nominative-accusative plural in *-es*: *marmorem*, Bon. 348, Zauner 30; *papaverem*, Plautus, *Pæn.* I, 2, 113; **piperem*; *sulphurem*, G. 293; cf. § 347. But *marmor*, etc., were kept also. *Côr* apparently made its plural **côres* instead of **côrdes*: according to Mohl, *Lexique* 21-38, the word shows no trace of *d* in any of the Romance languages, except Spanish *cuerdo*, and so probably goes back to an Old Latin **côr* **côris* = κῆρ κῆπος; the open *o* would possibly be explained as due to a cross between this **côr* and the Classic *côr*.

Caput became **capu(m)* or *capus* (Pirson 238), and passed into the second declension: cf. § 356, (3).

370. A few feminines in *-is* apparently became neuters in *-us*, but the original forms were kept also: *cînis cînus*; *pûlvis* **pûlvus*, whence Sp. *polvo*, Old Fr. *pols* (It. *polve* may come from *pûlver*).

Incus, incûdis > *incûdo, incûdînis*: Lat. *Spr.* 483.

Sanguis, sanguîne(m) also *sanguē(m)*.

371. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the third declension must have gone about as follows (*-is* and *-ēs* having coincided in the pronunciation *-es*):—

(1) NO CHANGE OF ACCENT.

NO CHANGE OF STEM.

THINGS.			PERSONS.	
<i>cane(s)</i>	<i>finē(s)</i>	<i>res</i>	<i>pate(r)</i>	<i>mate(r)</i>
<i>cane</i>	<i>finē</i>	<i>rem re</i>	<i>patre</i>	<i>matre</i>
<i>cane(s)</i>	<i>finē(s)</i>	<i>res</i>	<i>patre(s)</i>	<i>matre(s)</i>
<i>cane(s)</i>	<i>finē(s)</i>	<i>res</i>	<i>patre(s)</i>	<i>matre(s)</i>

CHANGE OF STEM.

THINGS.			PERSONS.	
<i>pede(s)</i>	<i>*arte(s)</i>	<i>corpu(s)</i>	<i>come(s)</i>	<i>vergo</i>
<i>pede</i>	<i>arte</i>	<i>corpu(s)</i>	<i>cōmite</i>	<i>vérGINE</i>
<i>pede(s)</i>	<i>arte(s)</i>	<i>*corpe(s) cōrpora</i>	<i>cōmite(s)</i>	<i>vérGINE(s)</i>
<i>pede(s)</i>	<i>arte(s)</i>	<i>corpe(s) cōrpora</i>	<i>cōmite(s)</i>	<i>vérGINE(s)</i>

(2) CHANGE OF ACCENT.

THINGS.		PERSONS.		
<i>*sermōne(s)</i>	<i>*ratiōne(s)</i>	<i>amāto(r)</i>	<i>soro(r)</i>	<i>parente(s)</i>
<i>sermōne</i>	<i>ratiōne</i>	<i>amātoRE</i>	<i>soroRE</i>	<i>parente</i>
<i>sermōne(s)</i>	<i>ratiōne(s)</i>	<i>amātoRE(s)</i>	<i>soroRE(s)</i>	<i>parente(s)</i>
<i>sermōne(s)</i>	<i>ratiōne(s)</i>	<i>amātoRE(s)</i>	<i>soroRE(s)</i>	<i>parente(s)</i>

Letters enclosed in parentheses were silent in Italy and Dacia.

d. LOSS OF DECLENSION.

372. In Italy and Dacia, through the dropping of final *r* and *s*, declension nearly disappeared before the end of the Vulgar Latin period: cf. Audollent 545-547, nom. *alumnu*, *Glaucu*, *Romanu*, etc. It was probably lost altogether soon after, although a few double forms still remain: e. g., It. *ladro*, *ladrone*.

It disappeared early in Spain also. In most of Gaul it lasted through the twelfth century and later.

373. In Gaul and Spain the forms preserved were the accusative singular and the accusative plural. In Italy and Rumania, for phonetic reasons, the surviving cases are the accusative singular and the nominative plural.

There are, however, not a few examples of the nominative singular of names of persons.

3. DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES.

374. Adjectives were declined after the same model as nouns. As neuter nouns assumed masculine endings (§ 347), the neuter adjective forms were less and less used; the neuter singular, however, was kept to represent a whole idea (cf. § 350), and the neuter plural (as *omnia*) was doubtless employed from time to time as an indefinite collective.

375. The principal types are:—

(1) THREE GENDERS.

	-us -a -um	
<i>bonu(s)</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>bonu</i>
<i>bonu -o</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>bonu -o</i>
<i>boni</i>	<i>bone -as</i>	<i>bona</i>
<i>bono(s)</i>	<i>bona(s)</i>	<i>bona</i>

So superlatives, as *optimus*, -a, -um.

	-er -a -um	
<i>libe(r)</i>	<i>libra</i>	<i>libru</i>
<i>libru -o</i>	<i>libra</i>	<i>libru -o</i>
<i>libri</i>	<i>libre libras</i>	<i>libra</i>
<i>libro(s)</i>	<i>libra(s)</i>	<i>libra</i>

So *ager, agra, agrum*.

	-er -is -o	
<i>ace(r)</i>	<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acre</i>
<i>acre</i>	<i>acre</i>	<i>acre</i>
<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acriā</i>
<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acriā</i>

(2) TWO GENDERS.

<i>triste(s)</i>	<i>triste</i>
<i>triste</i>	<i>triste</i>
<i>triste(s)</i>	<i>tristia</i>
<i>triste(s)</i>	<i>tristia</i>

(3) Originally ONE GENDER in the Nominative Singular.

*felice(s)	fēlis	*prudente(s)	prude(s)
felice	fēlis	prudente	prude(s)
felice(s)	fellicia	prudente(s)	prudentia
felice(s)	fellicia	prudente(s)	prudentia

(4) COMPARATIVES apparently did not reconstruct the Nominative Singular:—

melior(r)	melior(s)
meliore	melior(s)
meliore(s)	meliora
meliore(s)	meliora

376. There was a good deal of confusion of types in Latin times: beside *alacer*, m. and f., there was *alacris*, m. and f., and there was probably also a feminine **alacra* and **alecra*. *Pauper* early developed a feminine *paupera* and later a neuter *pauperum*: *paupera*, *pauperum*, *pauperorum*, R. 275 (cf. *pauperorum*, Waters Ch. 46). *Macer*, *miser*, *sacer* passed into the *-us -a -um* class, Densusianu 142; so *tæter* > *tetrus*, App. Pr. *Declivis*, *effrēnis*, *imbecillis* also assumed the *-us -a -um* inflection in the Latin period; so *tristis* > *tristus*, App. Pr. Cf. *celerus*, *gracilus*, *præstus*, *sublimus*, etc., and conversely *benignis*, *infirmis*, etc., R. 274. *Præcox* developed a feminine *præcoca*: Neue II, 162.

In the Romance languages more adjectives went over to the *-us -a -um* type: Pr. *comuna*, *doussa*, etc.

4. COMPARISON.

377. For the new method of comparison, see § 56. The Romance type, not completely evolved in Vulgar Latin, was:—

carus	{ plus magis }	carus	ille	{ plus magis }	carus
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However, the Classic Latin comparatives of many common adjectives remained: *altior, grandior, gravior, grevior, grossior* (G. 285), *levior, longior, major, melior, minor, pejor*; also **bel-latior*. So the adverbs: *longius, magis, melius, minus, pejus, sordidius, vivacius*, etc. The old superlatives remained to a considerable extent, in the clerical language, as intensives: *altissimus, carissimus, pessimus, proximus, sanctissimus*.

5. NUMERALS.¹

378. *Unus* was probably declined like *bonus*. It was used also as an indefinite article (§ 57) and an indefinite pronoun (cf. § 71).

Duo came to be replaced by *dūi*, attested in the third century: *Archiv* IX, 558 (cf. II, 107). Its inflection at the end of the Vulgar Latin period was probably:—

<i>dūi doi (duo?)</i>	<i>due doe duas doas</i>	<i>dua doa</i>
<i>duo(s)</i>	<i>dua(s) doa(s)</i>	<i>dua doa</i>

In early Romance there was doubtless much confusion of the forms.

379. The numbers between two and twenty were as follows:—

Trēs probably developed a nominative **trei*, on the model of *dui*.

Quattuor became *quattor* (*Archiv* VII, 65), also *quatro* (Carnoy 221),

**quattro*.

Quinque, by dissimilation, became *cīnque* (*Archiv* VII, 66); so *cinquaginta* (*Archiv* VII, 70). Cf. § 254.

Sēx, sēpte (and **sētte*), *ōcto* (and **ōtto*), *nōve, dēce* offer no peculiarities. Cf. *Archiv* VII, 68.

Beside *ūndēce* there seems to have been **ūndēce*.

For *dōdēce*, see § 225.

Trēdēce is regular.

¹ See M. Ihm, *Vulgärformen lateinischer Zahlwörter auf Inschriften* in *Archiv* VII, 65.

In Spain all the third conjugation verbs eventually passed into the second. This transition was probably helped by a partial fusion of *esse* and *sedere*.

403. The anomalous *pōsse pōtūi, vōlle vōlūi* naturally went over to the second conjugation, assumed the infinitive forms *potēre, *volēre*, and conformed their inflection more or less to the regular type. *Vōlle*, however, was discarded in Spain and Sardinia.

(1) *Potere, potebam* occur repeatedly in the sixth century (*Pr. Pers. Pl. 24*), *potebo* is found in the *Gl. Reich.*, *potebas* in Fredegarius (Haag 60). *Posso* for *pōssum* is used by Gregory and Fredegarius (*Pr. Pers. Pl. 24*), *poteo* is attested in 745 A.D. (*Pr. Pers. Pl. 25*). The present indicative must have been inflected something like this:—

<i>pōssu pōssō pōtēo *pōssēo</i>	<i>*potēmu(s)</i>
<i>pōtē(s)</i>	<i>potēste(s) *potēte(s)</i>
<i>*pōtē(t)</i>	<i>pōssun(t) *pōten(t)</i>

The present subjunctive must have had corresponding forms.

(2) *Volimus* is found in the sixth century (*Lat. Spr. 478*), *volemus* in the seventh (*Pr. Pers. Pl. 21*); *voles* is found in the *Gl. Reich.* *Volestis*, framed on the pattern of *potestis*, is twice used by Fredegarius (*Pr. Pers. Pl. 21*). The present indicative forms must have been something like this:—

<i>*vōlēo</i>	<i>vōlīmu(s) vōlēmu(s)</i>
<i>vōlē(s)</i>	<i>volestē(s) *vōlēte(s)</i>
<i>*vōlē(t)</i>	<i>*vōlēn(t)</i>

The present subjunctive must have been similarly inflected.

404. Beside *facere* there doubtless existed **fare* (*Facere* 48), strongly influenced by *dare* and *stare*. *Dare* and *facere* were associated in old formulas: *Lexique* 53. Furthermore, a suggestion of shortening existed in the monosyllabic imperative

fac (also *fa*: Zs. XXV, 735), which must have led to **fate* beside *facite*. The present indicative certainly had several sets of forms, one series being on the pattern of the first conjugation, but the present subjunctive retained its old inflection (see *Facere* 72, 121; Zs. XVIII, 434): —

<i>facio</i>	* <i>fao</i>	* <i>fo</i>	<i>fācimu(s)</i>	* <i>fāimus</i>	* <i>famu(s)</i>
<i>face(s)</i>	* <i>fais</i>	* <i>fas</i>	<i>fācite(s)</i>	* <i>fāitis</i>	* <i>fate(s)</i>
<i>face(t)</i>	* <i>fait</i>	* <i>fat</i>	<i>faciun(t)</i>	* <i>faunt</i>	* <i>fant</i>

There was also a rare infinitive *facire*, which occurs several times in the sixth and seventh centuries: *Facere* 13.

405. *Vadere* supplied its missing past tenses from *ire* and ✓ other verbs. These other substitutes, whose origin constitutes one of the most discussed problems in Romance philology, resulted — to cite only the principal types — in the verbs **allare* or *alare* (used in northern Gaul), **annare* (used in southern Gaul), **andare* (used in Spain and Italy). It is now generally thought that **allare* and **annare* developed in some peculiar way (perhaps through distortion in military commands) from *ambulare*, which is very common in late Latin in the sense of 'march' or 'walk.' **Andare* is commonly traced to **ambitare*, coming either from *ambitus* or, more probably, from *ambulare* with a change of suffix. C. C. Rice, in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* XIX, 217, argues that the three verbs sprang from Latin *annare* (= *adnare*) and its derivatives **annulare*, **annitare*. For a bibliography of the subject, see Körting. Cf. also A. Horning in Zs. XXIX, 542; H. Schuchardt in Zs. XXX, 83; *Lexique* 56–78. Both *ambulare* and *alare* occur in the *Gl. Reich*. *Amnavit* is found on a sixth century African vase: see F. Novati in *Studi Medievali* I, 616–617.

Ire and the other substitutes were introduced also into the

imperfect, which disappeared everywhere but in Sardinia (*fa-cheret*, etc.): *amārem* > *amāssem*, *audīrem* > *audissem*; cf. § 118.

The old future perfect — *amā(vē)ro* — fused with the perfect subjunctive — *amā(vē)rim* — and apparently remained more or less in use, as a future indicative or subjunctive, in all regions except Gaul and Rætia. It is best preserved in Spanish and Portuguese, but is found also in Old Rumanian and Macedonian. There are traces of it in Old Italian, sometimes confused with the pluperfect indicative and later sometimes with the infinitive (*āpriro*, *pōteri*, *crēdere*, etc.): see C. De Lollis in *Bausteine* 1; V. Crescini in *Zs.* XXIX, 619.

411. The old future, with the exception of *ēro*, was crowded out by the present and by new formations, especially by the infinitive combined with the present indicative of *habēre* (*amābo* > *amar' habeo*): see §§ 125-129. In this compound all the various forms of the present indicative of *habēre* were used (see §§ 273, 401): **amar' -ābeo*, *-āyo*, *-āo*, *-ō*; **amar' -ābe(s)*, *-ās*; **amar' -ābe(t)*, *-āt*; **amar' āben(t)*, *-āunt*, *-ānt*. In the first and second persons plural, *habēmus* and *habētis* eventually, as they came to be regarded as mere endings, were reduced to *-ēmu(s)*, *-ēte(s)*, to correspond to the dissyllabic or monosyllabic *-āyo*, *-ābe(s)*, *-ābe(t)*, *-āben(t)* and *-ō*, *-ās*, *-āt*, *-ānt*: **amar' -ēmu(s)*, **amar' -ēte(s)*.

On the model of this new future, an imperfect of the future, or conditional, came to be made, in late Vulgar Latin and Romance, from the infinitive combined with the imperfect or the perfect of *habēre* (see § 130): **amar' -abe(b)a(m)* or **amar' -abui*. In these formations the unaccented (*h*)*ab*-disappeared, as in the first and second persons plural of the future: **amar' -ē(b)a*, **amar' -ēsti*, etc.; but **amar' ābui*, etc. In Italian we find, beside *-la* from *habēbam* and *-bbi* *-ēbbi* from *habūi*, a form in *-ēi* (*amerēi*), which has prevailed in the

modern language, while in Old Italian the *ei* was sometimes detached and used as a preterit of *avere*: it is probably due to the analogy of the first person singular of the weak preterit (*credēti*, hence *credertī*), cf. § 426. ✓

412. The imperative disappeared, except the present, second person singular and plural: *amā*, *amāte*; *tēnē*, *tēnēte*; *credē*, *credēte*; *audi*, *audite*. The first and third persons were supplied from the present subjunctive. In some verbs the present subjunctive was used instead of all imperative forms. See § 115.

Instead of the plural form, the second person plural of the present indicative came to be used: *adferte* > *adferitis*, R. 294. For the monosyllabic *dic*, *duc*, *fac*, writers sometimes employed *dice*, *duce*, *face*: R. 294.

3. INCHOATIVE VERBS.

413. The Latin inchoative ending *-sco* was preceded by *ā-*, *ē-*, *ī-*, or *ō-*. The types *-āsko* and *-ōsko* were sparingly represented and were not extended in late and popular Latin; they have bequeathed but few verbs — such as Pr. *irādisser* < *irāscēre*, *condisser* < *co(g)nōscēre* — to the Romance languages. The types *-ēsko* and *-īsko* — as *parēsko*, *dormīsko* — were extended in the third century and later, and lost their inchoative sense.

414. There is some evidence of a confusion of *-ēsko* and *-īsko* in Latin. Virgilius Grammaticus (Sepulcri 194) mentions double forms of inchoative verbs, such as *calesco calisco*, etc. *Clarisco*, *erubisco*, etc., are common in Gregory the Great: Sepulcri 193. Cf. *criscere*, etc., in *Vok.* I, 359 ff.

In Veglia, the Abruzzi, Sardinia, and a part of Lorraine neither of these two endings left any trace. Only *-ēsko* survived in the Tyrol, the Grisons, French Switzerland, Savoy, Dauphiné, Lyons, the Landes, Béarn, and Spain — Sp. *parecer*,

florecer; *-esco* was preferred also in Rumanian. Elsewhere, although there are traces of *-esco*, *-isco* prevailed — Fr. *il fleurit*, It. *florisce*. For Pr. *despereissir*, etc., see E. Herzog in *Bausteine* 481.

415. The ending *-isco* eventually entered into the formation of the present stem of fourth conjugation verbs. There is no direct evidence of this in Latin, nor are there any traces of it in Spanish, Portuguese, Sardinian, or southern Italian; but in the earliest texts of France, northern and central Italy, Rætia, and Rumania we find a type

<i>*finisco</i>	<i>finimu(s)</i>
<i>*finisce(s)</i>	<i>finite(s)</i>
<i>*finisce(t)</i>	<i>*finiscun(t)</i>

The *-sc-* then generally disappeared from the infinitive — It. *fiorire*. Later, in some regions, the *-sc-* was carried throughout the present indicative (Fr. *finissons*, *finissez*); it also penetrated the present subjunctive (Fr. *finisse*), and in some districts eventually the present participle and the imperfect indicative (Fr. *finissant*, *finissais*).

See *Archiv* I, 465; *Zs.* XXIV, 81; *Rom.* XXX, 291-294; *Lat.-Spr.* 478.

4. PRESENT STEMS.

416. Many verbs in *-io* dropped the *i* whenever it was followed by another vowel. In the present participle this was a regular phonetic development (see § 225): *audientem* > **audente*, *facientem* > **facente*, *partientem* > **partente*, *sentientem* > **sentente*. Hence forms without the *i* were introduced more or less into the indicative and subjunctive: *audio* **audio*, **dormo*, *partiunt* **partunt*, *sēntiam* **sēntam*, etc.

By the analogy of these, the *ē* was occasionally lost in the second conjugation: *vīdeo* **vīdo*. On the other hand, by the

analogy of *capiunt*, *faciunt*, etc., the second conjugation admitted such forms as **habeunt*, **videunt*, etc., beside the regular *habent*, *vident*, etc.

417. The verbs *struere*, *trahere*, *vehere* developed infinitive forms **struere*, *trahere*, *vegere* (*trahere* and *vegere* are used by Fredegarius, Haag 34) and a whole present and imperfect inflection with -g-, as **trago*, **tragam*, **tragēbam*. The guttural was derived from the perfect indicative and the perfect participle — *struxi structus*, *traxi tractus*, *vexi vectus* — on the analogy of *ago actus*, *figo fixi*, *lego lectus*, *rego rexi rectus*, *tego tectus*, and also *finco finxi fictus*, *tango tactus*, and probably *cingo cinxi cinctus*, *jungo junxi junctus*, *pango panxi pinctus*, *plango planxi plinctus*, *ungo unxi unctus*, etc. ✓

There may have been also **strucere*, **tracere*, **vecere*, based on the analogy of *dico dixi dictus*, *duco duxi ductus*.

Cf. *Substrate* VI, 131.

418. The verbs *dare*, *debere*, *dicere*, *facere*, *habere*, *pōsse*, *stare*, *vadere*, *vēlle* underwent considerable changes in the present: see §§ 273, 397, 401, 403-406, 412, 416.

419. *Esse* was made into **ēssere*, to bring it into conformity with the usual third conjugation type. Considerable alterations were made in the present indicative and subjunctive. For the use of *fieri* for *esse*, see § 409. The Spanish use of *sedere* for *esse* is probably later than our period.

(1) The present indicative shows some signs of a tendency to normalize its erratic inflection by making all the forms begin with *s*. The old *esum* cited by Varro (*Pr. Pers. Pl.* 128) went out of use. Italian *sei* and Rætian *šēš* point to a **sēs* beside *ēs*; Italian *siete* and Rætian *siede*, etc., indicate a **sētis* for *ētis*, while there is some evidence of an alternative **sūtis* on the model of *sūmus*; Old Italian *se* for *ē*, Provençal *ses* for

es, usually understood as reflexive forms, may go back to **sēt* and **sēst* for *ēst*. In the first person plural *sūmus* became *sūmus* and *simus* (see § 220); *sūmus*, the usual Classic form, was preferred in Spain, Portugal, northern Gaul, and the Tyrol (Sp. *somos*, Old Fr. *sons*, etc.); *simus*, which was used, according to Suetonius, by Augustus, and by various purists of the Augustan age (Stolz 58), prevailed in southern Gaul, Italy, Dalmatia, and Dacia (Pr. *sem*, Old It. *semo*, etc.): cf. *Lat. Spr.* 479; *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 130; *Rom.* XXI, 347. Provençal *esmes* < **ēsmus* seems to be a new formation on the analogy of *ēstis*; Mohl, *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 135, would derive it from old *esimus*, which existed with *esum*. The present indicative inflection was doubtless something like this:—

<i>sēm</i>	<i>sēmu(s)</i>	<i>semu(s)</i>	* <i>esmu(s)</i>
<i>ēs</i> * <i>sēs</i>	<i>ēste(s)</i>	* <i>sēte(s)</i>	* <i>sēte(s)</i> ?
<i>ēst</i> * <i>sēt</i> ? * <i>sēst</i> ?	<i>sēt</i>		

(2) In the present subjunctive the analogy of other third conjugation verbs tended to introduce the characteristic vowel *a*. It is likely, too, that from early times there was a reciprocal influence of *fiam*, etc., and the Old Latin optative *siem*, etc. (cf. *Lexique* 51): *fiet* is common for *fit*, *Pirson* 150; *fiam* replaces *sim* in northern Italy and Dacia. Hence comes an alternative inflection **siam*, etc., which ultimately prevailed:—

<i>sēm</i> * <i>sēa</i>	<i>simu(s)</i>	<i>sidmu(s)</i>
<i>sīs</i> * <i>sēa(s)</i>	<i>sīte(s)</i>	* <i>sidte(s)</i>
<i>sēt</i> <i>sēa(t)</i>	<i>sēt</i>	* <i>sēan(t)</i>

For *sīat*, see *sead* in *Vok.* II, 42. *Siamus*, according to *Lat. Spr.* 478, occurs in Italian documents of the eighth century.

5. IMPERFECT.

N. B. — For the loss of the imperfect subjunctive, see § 118.

420. The endings were *-ābam*, *-ēbam*, *-ībam*, *-ibam*. In the third conjugation *-ībam* regularly developed into *-ēbam*,

just as *-ientem* > *-entem* (see §§ 225, 416): *faciēbam* > **facēbam*. In the fourth conjugation *-iēbam* and *-ībam* existed side by side from early times (Neue II, 445), *-ībam* — as in *munībam* — being common in early Latin and recurring at later periods (Lindsay 491); *-ībam*, which stressed the characteristic vowel of the fourth conjugation, prevailed in popular speech, and *-iēbam* disappeared: *vestibat*, etc., Dubois 277-278.

421. *Habēbam*, pronounced *aβeβa* (cf. § 318), developed another form, **aβea*, probably through dissimilation. Hence came an alternative ending *-ea* for *-eβa*, which in Romance was widely extended, affecting all the conjugations but the first: It. *vedēa*, *credēa*, *sentēa*. It is common to nearly all the Romance territory except Rumania: *Lat. Spr.* 479.

6. PERFECT.

422. We must distinguish two types, the weak and the strong: the weak comprises the *v*- perfects in which the *v* is added to a verb-stem (*-āvi*, *-ēvi*, *-īvi*), the strong includes all others. Verbs of the first and fourth conjugations generally had weak perfects, those of the second and third had mostly strong. Only six verbs — all of the second conjugation and most of them rare — regularly had a perfect in *-ēvi*: *deleo*, *fleo*, *neo*, *-oleo*, *-pleo*, *vico*; *silevit* for *siluit* occurs also, R. 287.

All first and fourth conjugation verbs with strong perfects probably developed a weak one in Vulgar Latin: *præstīti* > *præstavi*, R. 289; *salui* > *salivi*. For further encroachment of the weak type on the strong, see § 426.

a. WEAK PERFECTS.

423. A tendency to keep the stress on the characteristic vowel, and also a general inclination to omit *v* between two *i*'s (see § 324), led early, in the fourth conjugation, to a reduction

of *-īvistī* to *-istī* and *-īvistis* to *-istis*, which brought about, still early, the further reduction of *-īvī* to *-ī* and **-īī*, *-īvit* to *-īit* and **-īit*, *-īvērunt* to *-ierunt*, and, later, the reduction of *-īvīmus* to *-īmus* and probably **-īmmus* (the lengthening of the *m* being due to compensation and also, perhaps, to a desire to distinguish the perfect from the present). For *-īit*, as in *lenīit*, see Servius *ad Aen.* I, 451; for *-ierunt*, see Neue III, 452-454; for *-īmus*, as in *repetīmus*, etc., see Neue III, 449.

Then a contraction of the two vowels gave, in the first and third persons singular and the third person plural, *-ī*, *-it*, **-īrunt*: *audī*, Neue III, 434 (cf. S. 241: 65-121 A.D.); *petīit*, etc., Neue III, 446-448; "*cupīit* pro *cupīvit*," Priscian XII, 17 (Keil II, 587); *petīit*, *petīit*, *redīit*, Bayard 60; *perīit*, etc., Bon. 440.

A contraction without the fall of *v*, in the third person singular, gave rise, locally, to an alternative form, **-iut*: It. *servīto*, etc.

424. The loss of *v*, carried into the first conjugation, gave rise early to a reduction of *-āvīstī*, *-āvīstis*, *-āvērunt* to *-āstī*, *-āstis*, *-ārunt*. Much later *-āvī* > *-āi*, *-āvīt* > *āit* and *-āt*, *-āvīmus* > *-āmus* and probably **-āmmus*: *calcai* (Probus), *edificai*, *probai* (Probus), *Vok.* II, 476; *σενναι*, Densusingianu I, 152; — *laborait*, *C. I. L.* X, 216; *speclarait*, *Vok.* II, 476; *dedicait*, *Lexique* 46; "*fumāt* pro *fumavit*," Priscian XII, 17 (Keil II, 587); *denumerat*, *judicat*, Fredegarius (Haag 55); — *celebramus*, *memoramus*, *vocitamus*, Gregory of Tours (Bon. 440); *speramus*, Fredegarius (Haag 55). The third person singular in *-ait* is found in Old Sardinian: *Lat. Spr.* 479.

A contraction without the fall of *v* gave rise, in the third person singular, to *-aut*; and, in the first person plural, probably to **-aumus*: *triumphaut* in Pompeii, Densusingianu I, 152. This *-aut* prevailed in Romance: It. *amò* and *amáo*, etc. The

*-*aumus* is preserved in some Old French dialects near Douai: *Rom.* XXX, 607.

425. The forms in the first and fourth conjugations, therefore, were: —

- <i>avi</i>	- <i>ai</i>			- <i>vi</i>	*- <i>fi</i>	- <i>ii</i>	- <i>f</i>
- <i>asti</i>				- <i>sti</i>			
- <i>ave(t)</i>	- <i>aut</i>	- <i>ait</i>	- <i>at</i>	- <i>ve(t)</i>	*- <i>fut</i>	*- <i>fit</i>	- <i>it</i>
- <i>avimu(s)</i>	- <i>amu(s)</i>	*- <i>ammu(s)</i>	*- <i>umus</i>	- <i>vimu(s)</i>	- <i>imu(s)</i>	*- <i>immu(s)</i>	
- <i>aste(s)</i>				- <i>ste(s)</i>			
- <i>arun(t)</i>				*- <i>frun(t)</i>			

With the exception of *-ivi* in Old Italian, the forms with *v* were not preserved in Romance.

Verbs in *-ēvī* doubtless had a similar inflection: **delēī*, *delēstī*, etc. Some other second conjugation verbs apparently adopted this perfect: *silevit*, R. 287.

426. Compounds of *dare* had a perfect in *-dīdī* (*crēdīdī*, *perdīdī*, *vēndīdī*, etc.), which in Vulgar Latin became *-dēdī* (see § 139): *perdedīt*, etc., Audollent 544. This *-dedi* was extended to many other verbs in *-d-*: *prandīdī*, Keil IV, 184; *descendīdī*, *respondīdī*, *Lat. Spr.* 479, 480; *ascendiderat*, *descendīdīt*, *incendederit*, *odedere*, *pandiderunt*, *prendiderunt*, *videderunt* (cf. *edediderit* with an extra *-de-*), R. 288.

Through the analogy of *-āi*, **-ēi*, **-īi*, helped by dissimilation, this *-dēdī* became **-dei*. Hence arose eventually an inflection **-dei*, **-destī*, **-det*, **-dem(m)u(s)*, **-dēste(s)*, *-derun(t)*, from which there came a set of endings **-ei*, **-estī*, etc., corresponding to the *-ai* *-astī*, etc., and the *-ii*, *-istī*, etc., of the first and fourth conjugations: so *caderunt*, *Gl. Reich*. In some of the Romance languages these endings were carried into other verbs of the third and even the second conjugation (It. *ballēi*, Pr. *cazēt*); in Provençal they invaded the first also (*amēi*). In Dacia, on the other hand, they apparently did

not develop at all. In Italy, under the influence of *stetti* < **stētui*, *dare* had (beside *diedi* < *dēdi*) a perfect *detti*, whence arose an inflection -*detti*, etc., and a set of endings -*etti*, etc., beside -*dēi* and -*ēi*.

Through these endings the weak type encroached somewhat on the strong. In Italy all strong verbs except *esse* introduced weak endings in the second person singular and the first and second persons plural: It. *presi*, *prendesti*, etc.; cf. *plaudisti* for *plausisti*, R. 286, also *vincisti*, *Gl. Reich*. In Rumania, where there was no -*dēi*, the -*ui* and -*si* types were extended.

A few weak verbs adopted strong inflections: *quasivi* > **quæsi*, *sapivi* > *sapui*.

b. STRONG PERFECTS.

427. There are three types — those that add *u* to the root, those that add *s*, and those that have nothing between the root and the personal endings: *plac-u-i*, *dīc-s-i* = *dīxi*, *bīb-i*. In the first class the *u* lost its syllabic value and became *w* (cf. § 326): *placwī*, etc.

428. The -*ui* type, according to Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* II, 357, included from the start not only perfects of the *placui* sort, but also all perfects in -*vi* not made from the verb-stem (cf. § 422), — such as *cognōvi*, *crēvi*, *mōvi*, *pāvi*, — this ending being pronounced *wui*, but written *vi* to avoid the doubling of the *v*. At any rate, the development of the *vi* indicates that it was sounded *wui*, *wwi*, or *βwi* in Vulgar Latin: cf. It. *conobbi*, *crēbbi*, etc.; Pr. *moc*, etc.

This perfect disappeared from the first and fourth conjugations: *crepui* > **crepavi*, *necui* > *necavi*, etc.; *aperui* > **aperi* > **apersi*, *salui* > *salivi* *salii* **salsi*, etc. In the second and third conjugations it maintained itself very well: *cognovi*, *crevi*,

gemui(?), *messui(?)*, *molui*, *movi*, *pavi*, *tenui*, *texui*. It lost *posui* (>*posi*), *silui* (>*silevi*), and possibly a few others. On the other hand it received many additions: *bībi* > **bībui*; *cēcīdi* > **cadui* **cadedi*; *cēpi* > *capui*, Haag 56, *Lat. Spr.* 479 (so **recīpiui*); *expavi* > *expabui*, *Lat. Spr.* 479; *lēgi* > **lēgui* **lēxi*: *natus sum* > **nacui*; *peperci* > *parcui*, R. 288; *sapivi* > *sapui*; *sēdi* > **sēdui*; *stēti* > also **stētui*; *sustūli* > **tolui* **tolsi*; *texi* > *texui*, *Lat. Spr.* 479; *vēni* > also **vēnui*; *vīci* > also **vīncui* **vīnsi*; *vīdi* > also **vīdui* **vīdui*; *vīxi* > also **vīscui*; etc. Cf. A. Zimmermann in *Archiv* XIII, 130; Zs. XXVIII, 97.

429. Of the *-si* class, — which comprised perfects in *-si*, *-ssi*, and *-xi*, — some thirty-five were preserved: *arsī*, *cinxi*, *clausi*, *coxi*, *divisi*, *dixi*, *duxi*, *excussi*, *finxi*, *fixi*, *frixi*, *junxi*, *luxi*, *mansi*, *mīsi* (also **mīssi*, perhaps on the model of *mīssus*, cf. § 163), *mulsi*, *pinxi*, *planxi*, *pressi*, *rasi*, *rexi*, *risi*, *rosi*, *scripsi*, *sparsi*, *-stinxi*, *strinxi*, *struxi*, *tersi*, *tinxi*, *torsi*, *traxi*, *unxi*, *vixi*. *Sensi*, however, became **sentii*.

In Vulgar Latin there were perhaps some thirty or more new formations: *abscō(n)si*, Keil VII, 94; **accē(n)si*; **apērsi*; **attīnxi*; **copērsi*; **cūrsi*; **defe(n)si*; **ērsi* from *ērigo*; **franxi*; **fūsi*; **impīnxi*; **lēxi*; **mōrsi*; **occīsi*; **offērsi*; **pē(n)si*; *pērsi*, *Lat. Spr.* 480; *pōsi*, R. 288; **prē(n)-si*; **pūnxi*; **quāsi*; **redēmpsi*; **respō(n)si*; **rōsi*; **salsi*; **sōlsi*; **sūrsi*; **taxi*, **tanxi*; **tē(n)si*; **tōlsi*; **vīnsi*; **vōlsi*. Some of these — **defēnsi*, **fusi*, **mōrsi*, **occīsi*, **pēnsi*, **prēnsi*, **responsi*, **rosi*, **tēnsi* — assumed the *s-* perfect through having an *s* in the perfect participle.

Cf. *Einf.* § 165.

430. Among the *-i* perfects, the reduplicative formations were discarded in Vulgar Latin, with the exception of *dēdi* and *stēti* (also **stētui*), whose reduplicative character was no longer

apparent; compounds of *dare* usually formed their perfect like the simple verb (cf. § 426; but *circumdavit* in *Gl. Reich.*), while compounds of *stare* tended to follow the regular first conjugation model (*præstīti* > *præstavi*, R. 289). *Cēcīdi* became **cadui* or **cadedi*; *fefelli* > **falii*; *peperci* > *parcui*, R. 288. The other reduplicative perfects either disappeared or passed into the *-si* class: *cucurri* > **cūrsi*; *momordi* > **mōrsi*; *pependi* > **pē(n)si*; *pupūgi* > **pūnxi*; *telendi* > **tē(n)si*; *tetēgi* > **taxi* **tanxi*.

The other *-i* perfects were greatly reduced in number in Vulgar Latin. Some simply disappeared, some became weak, some went over to the *-ui* or the *-si* type: *ēgi*, *vērti*; *fūgi* > **fugii*; *bībi* > **bībui*, *cēpi* > *capui*, *lēgi* > **lēgui*, *sēdi* > **sēdui*; *accendi* > **accē(n)si*, *defendi* > **defē(n)si*, *frēgi* > **franxi*, *fūdi* > **fūsi*, *lēgi* > **lēxi*, *prendi* > **prē(n)si*, *solvi* > **sōlsi*, *vici* > **vīnsi*, *volvi* > **vōlsi*. There were no additions. Two of the old perfects maintained themselves intact, and two more were kept beside new formations: *fēcī*, *fui*; *vēni* **vēnui*, *vīdi* **vīdui*.

431. In *fui* the *u* was originally long, but it was shortened in Classic Latin; Vulgar Latin seems to show both *ū* and *ū̄*. In an effort to keep the accent on the same syllable throughout (cf. §§ 423-424), *fuīsti* > **fusti*, *fuīstis* > **fustis*; then *fuīmus* generally became **fum(m)us*, *fuit* was often shortened to **fut*, and *fuērunt* became **furunt*. There may have been also, through dissimilation, a form **fōrunt*.

The prevailing inflection, with some variations, was probably something like this: —

<i>fuī</i>	<i>fōi</i>	* <i>fom(m)u(s)</i>
* <i>fōstī</i>		* <i>fōstē(s)</i>
<i>fōe(t)</i>	<i>fue(t)</i> * <i>fōt</i> * <i>fūt</i>	* <i>fōrun(t)</i> * <i>fūrun(t)</i> * <i>fōrun(t)?</i> * <i>fōcrun(t)?</i>

7. PLUPERFECT AND FUTURE PERFECT.

432. When preserved at all, these tenses followed the old types: *plācuēram* (cf. § 137), *placuiſsem*, *plācuēro*; *dixēram*, *dixiſsem*, *dixēro*; *fēcēram*, *fecīſsem*, *fēcēro*. In formations from weak perfects only the contracted forms were used: *amāram*, *amāſsem*, *amāro*; *delēram*, *delēſsem*, *delēro*; *audī(e)ram*, *audiſsem*, *audī(e)ro*; cf. *alaret*, *ortaret* in *Gl. Reich*. Bayard 60–61 notes that St. Cyprien employed only the shortened forms — *petiſſet*, etc. — before *ss*.

433. In some regions a tendency to keep the accent on the same syllable throughout the pluperfect subjunctive led to a change of *–assēmus*, *–assētis*, etc., to **–āssimus*, **–āssitis*, etc.: It. *amāssimo amāste*, Sp. *hablásemos habláseis*; but Pr. *amessém amessétz*, Fr. *aimassiéms aimassiézs*.

8. PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

434. Verbs which had no perfect participle were obliged to form one in order to make their passive and their perfect tenses: *fērio*, **feritus*.

435. In the first conjugation *–ātus* was preserved and was extended to all verbs: *frictus* > *fricatus*; *nectus* > *necatus*; *secus* > *secatus*; so the new *alatus*, *Gl. Reich*. The ending *–ītus*, in the first conjugation, generally fell into disuse: *crepītus* > **crepatus*; *domītus* > *domatus*, R. 295; *plicītus* > *plicatus*; *sonītus* > **sonatus*; *tonītus* > **tonatus*; *vetītus* > *vetatus*, R. 296. Nevertheless there were some new formations in *–ītus*: **lēvītus*, *prōvītus*, *rōgītus*, *vōcītus*; cf. *Lat. Spr.* 480.

In the third conjugation *–ātus* disappeared: *oblatus* > *offertus* (*Gl. Reich.*), *sublatus* > **suffertus*, by the analogy of *apertus*, *copertus*; *sublatus* (from *tollo*) > *tōllītus* (*Gl. Reich.*).

436. In the fourth conjugation *-ītus* was preserved and was extended to nearly all verbs: *saltus* > **salītus*; *sensus* > **sentītus*; *sepultus* > *sepelītus*, old and found in all periods, Pirson 152, *Gl. Reich*. *Apertus* and *copertus*, however, were kept; and *ventus* generally became **venūtus*.

In the third conjugation *quāsītus* > **quæstus*.

437. In the second conjugation the rare *-ētus* disappeared as a participial ending: *complētus*, etc., were kept only as adjectives.

438. The ending *-ūtus*, belonging to verbs in *-uere* and *-vere* (*argutus*, *consutus*, *minutus*, *secutus*, *solutus*, *statutus*, *tributus*, *volutus*), offered a convenient accented form, corresponding to *-ātus* and *-ītus*. It was extended to nearly all the verbs that had an *-ui* perfect: **bibutus*, **habutus*, **parutus*, **tenutus*, **venutus*, **vidutus*, etc.; but *status*. It did not always, however, entirely displace the old perfect participle: *natus* was kept beside **nascūtus*.

Eventually *-ūtus* was carried further, — as **credutus*, **perdutus*, **vendutus*, — and in Sicily encroached largely on *-ītus*.

On the other hand, **mōvītus* and **mōssus* were formed beside **movutus*, **sōlvītus* (or **sōltus*) beside *solutus*, **vōlvītus* (or **vōltus*) beside *volutus*.

439. The ending *-ītus* tended to disappear (cf. § 435): *absconditus* > *absco(n)sus*; *bibitus* > **bibutus*; *creditus* > **credutus*; *fugitus* > **fugītus*; *molitus* > **molutus*; *paritus* > **parutus*; **parsus*; *perditus* > **perdutus*; **persus*; *submonitus* > **submo(n)sus*; *venditus* > **vendutus*. A few of these participles, however, remained, and there were some new formations in *-ītus*: *gēmītus*?, *pōs(i)tus*, *sōlitus*; **lēvītus*, **mōvītus*, *prōvītus*, *rōgītus*, **sōlvītus* (or **sōltus*), *tōllītus*, *vōcītus*, **vōlvītus* (or **vōltus*).

440. The ending *-tus* was kept for some twenty verbs, occasionally with a change of stem: *cinctus*; *dictus*; *ductus*; *extinctus*; *factus*; *fictus* *finctus*, R. 295; *fractus* **francus*; *frictus*; *lectus*; *mistus*; *pictus* **pinctus*; *punctus*; *rectus*; *scriptus*; *strictus* **strinctus*; *structus*; **surtus* for *surrectus*; *tactus*? **tancus*?; *tinctus*; *tortus*; *tractus*. There were a few new formations in *-tus*: *offertus*, **quæstus*, **suffertus*, **vîstus*; and perhaps **söltus*, **völtus* (cf. § 439).

About fifteen verbs probably replaced *-tus* by *-ātus*, *-ītus*, or *-ūtus*: *captus* **capītus*; *cognōtus* > **conovūtus*?; *crētus* > **crevūtus*?; *fartus* > **farcītus* and *farsus*, *Lat. Spr.* 480; *frīctus* > *fricātus*; *mōtus* > **movūtus*? and **mössus*; *nectus* > *necātus*; *pastus* > **pavūtus*?; *saltus* > **salītus* and **salsus*; *sectus* > *secātus*; *sepultus* > *sepelītus*; *tentus* > **tenūtus*; *texus* > **texūtus*; *ventus* > **venūtus* and *venītus*, *Bechtel* 91; *vīctus* > **vinūtus* and **vincītus*; *vīctus* > **vixūtus*.

441. The ending *-sus* was generally kept: *acce(n)sus*; *arsus*; *clausus*; *defe(n)sus*; *divīsus*; *excussus*; *fixus*; *fuscus*; *ma(n)sus*; *mīssus*, also perhaps **mīsus* by the analogy of *mīsi*; *morsus*; *pe(n)sus*; *pre(n)sus*; *pressus*; *risus*; *rosus*; *sparsus*; *te(n)sus*; *tersus*; *to(n)sus*; *visus*, also probably **visītus*. Several of these developed also a participle in *-ūtus*: **pendūtus*, **vidūtus*, etc. *Salsus*, 'salted,' maintained itself beside *salītus*.

A few verbs replaced the old form by one in *-ītus* or *-ūtus*: *expansus* > **expandūtus*; *falsus* > **fallītus*; *fuscus* > *fundūtus*, *Gl. Reich.*; *gavīsus* > **gaudūtus*; *messus* > *metītus*, *Dubois* 282; *sensus* > **sentītus*; *sessus* > **sedūtus*.

On the other hand, there were some new formations in *-sus*: *absco(n)sus*, *Keil* VII, 94, *Lat. Spr.* 480, R. 295 (very common); *farsus*, *Lat. Spr.* 480; **mossus*; **parsus*; **persus*; **salsus*; **submo(n)sus*.

9. PERSONAL ENDINGS.

442. For the reduction of *-io* to *-o*, see §416.

443. Meyer-Lübke, *Grundriss* I², 670, assumes that in Italy *-ās* and *-ēs* became *-i*. The evidence, historically considered, does not support this view. Italian *lodi* and Rumanian *lauzi*, from *laudas*, are correctly explained by Tiktin 565–566 as analogical formations.

444. As unaccented *ē*, *ĕ*, and *ĭ* came to be pronounced alike (§243), great confusion ensued between *-ēs* and *-īs*, *-ēt* and *-it*. This confusion is very frequent in the *Peregrinatio*: Bechtel 88–89, *colliget*, etc.

445. In southern and to some extent in northern Gaul the first person plural lost its final *s*, perhaps in the Vulgar Latin period: *vidēmus* > Pr. *vezēm*. This is not a phonetic phenomenon, as *-s* did not fall in this region. It may be that *-s* was dropped because it was regarded as a characteristic of the second person, as *t* was of the third (cf. *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 73–80):—

<i>āmo</i>	* <i>amāmu</i>
<i>āmas</i>	<i>amātes</i>
<i>āmat</i>	<i>āmant</i>

446. According to Mohl, *Pr. Pers. Pl.*, forms like **cānomus*, due to Celtic influence, were used in northern Gaul instead of *canimus*, etc.; then the accent was shifted to the penult — **canómus*, whence came the French *-ons*. This theory has not found acceptance.

447. In strong perfects the first person plural, *-imus*, — through the analogy of *-istis* and *-isti*, and doubtless of weak perfects as well, — tended, perhaps after our period, to stress its penult: *fēcimus* > Pr. *fezēm*. There are traces of this in inscriptions and elsewhere: S. 47, 53. The shift, however,

was not universal, as there are in Italian and French remains of the original accentuation.

448. In the present indicative and imperative, *-imus*, *-itis*, *-ite* generally became, in the sixth or seventh century, *-ēmu(s)*, *-ēte(s)*, *-ēte*, — the penult assuming the accent, to match *-āmu(s)*, *-āte(s)*, *-āte* and *-ēmu(s)*, *-ēte(s)*, *-ēte* and *-īmu(s)*, *-īte(s)*, *-īte* in the other conjugations. The shift was perhaps helped by the analogy of the future — *mittimus*, for instance, being attracted by *mittemus*: *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 30, 64. Rumanian, however, kept the old accent (Tiktin 596): *îngem*, *îngeţi*; *vîndem*, *vîndeţi*; etc. There are some traces of its preservation in southeastern French dialects also. Furthermore, *facimus*, *facitis* and *dicimus*, *dicitis* kept their old forms in many regions.

449. For the reduction of *-iunt* to *-unt*, see § 416. Beside *-ent*, in the second conjugation, there was an ending **-eunt* (**habeunt*, etc.), — due to the analogy of *-iunt*, — which was particularly common in Italy: cf. § 416.

The endings *-ent* and *-unt* came to be very much confused (**crēdent*, **vidunt*, etc.); their interchange is frequent in the *Peregrinatio*: Bechtel 88–90, *absolvent*, *accipient*, *exient*, *responduntur*, etc. According to Mohl, *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 112, the confusion goes back to early Italic. The Classic distinction was best kept in Gaul and northern Italy; in Spain and Portugal, Sardinia, and a part of southern Italy, *-ent* prevailed; in central and the rest of southern Italy, Rætia, Dalmatia, and Dacia, *-unt* was preferred.

450. In the perfect, the third person plural ending *-ēre* was discarded. The ending *-erunt*, in Classic Latin, sometimes had a short *e* (*ē* is common in the comic poets, Virgil wrote *tulērunt*, etc.); in Vulgar Latin this vowel was apparently always short: *dēbuerunt*, *dixerunt*, *viderunt*. Cf. § 137.

INDEX.

N. B. — Arabic numerals refer to Paragraphs. Words printed in Roman type belong to ancient, words in *italics* to modern languages.

- a 194-5, 228, 229 (1), 231,
240, 243, 244
accented 39, 194-5
-arius 39
ja- > je- 229 (1)
unaccented 228, 229 (1),
231, 240, 243, 244
-a 37
α 181
ab 14, 77, 92
before j 222
before s + cons. 230
ab 78
ab- 26
ab- > au- 236
ab ante 47, 48
abbellire 18, 34
abbio 273
abbreviare 25
abbreviatio 37
abeo = habeo 251
abias 224
abiat 224
abiete 224
-abilis 39
ab intus 47
abitat 251
Ablative 92-7, 383
abl. absolute 97
abl. = accus. 94-6
aboculare 26
ab olim 47
abs- 28
absconsus 439, 441
absida 356 (3)
absolvent 449
abyssus 149
ac- 24, 65
accedere(m) 309
accensus 441
Accent 134-58
primary 135-52
Greek words 143-50
other foreign words
151-2
shift 136-8, 140
ficatum 141
nouns 367
numerals 142
recomposition 139
verba 423-4, 431,
433, 447-8, 450
vowels in hiatus
136-8
secondary 153-5
unstressed words 156-8
Accented Vowels: *see*
Vowels
accipere 201
acceptabilis 39
accipient 449
accubitorium 37
-accus 37
Accusative, 82, 94-6, 98-9,
373, 383
acc. = abl. 94-6
acc. + infin. 82
acc. pl. in -us 244, 355 (1)
acer arbor 43
-aceus 37
acia 355 (2)
-acius 37
a contra 47
a(c)qua 164
Acqui 86
Acragas 330
ac si 83
ac sic 24, 47, 84
acua = aqua 223
-aculare 35
aculionis 367
ad 14, 78, 86, 90, 93, 96, 98
ad = at 282
ad- 23, 25
adaptus 23
adcap(i)tare 25
addedi 139
addormire 25
adferitis (imper.) 412
adgenuculari 25
ad horam 47
adimplere 30
Adjectives
comparison 56, 377
declension 374-9
numerals 378-82
unus (article) 57
adjutare 34
ad mane 47
adnao 397
adparecere 34
adpetere 32

adpretiare 25
 adpropriare 25
 ad semel 47
 ad sero 47
 adsteti 139
 ad subito 47
 adtonitus 32
 ad tunc 47
 ad ubi 47
 aduc 250
 adulescentulus 37
 adunare 25
Adverbs 73-5
 æ 174, 178, 209-10, 228,
 243, 244
 accented 174, 178, 209-10
 unaccented 174, 178, 243,
 244
 -æ = -e 174, 244
 æcclesia 228
 ædis 366
 ægis 188
 æliens = eligens 259
 æques = e- 175
 æquus = e- 175, 210
 æteneris = itineris 201
 Æthiopia 188
 æum = ævum 324 (1)
 a foras 47
 a foris 47
 agennæ = -nd- 281
 agere = ajere 259
 aggio 273
 aggravatio 37
 Agneti 359 (2)
 agnetus = -na- 194
 -ago 37
 Agragas 330
 Agrium 259
 agurium 228
 agustas 228
 Augustus 228
 ahenum 250
 ai > æ > e 209
 ai 188
 Aiax 188, 222
 aiglon 37 (-o)
 Aiax 222

aio 222
 -aio 39 (-arius)
 aios = *aios* 272
 Aix 86
 ajutit = adjutet 272
 -al 37
 alacer 195 (1)
 alare 405, 435
 alauda 19
 alaudula 37
 alba spina 43
 alberca 19
 albeus 317
 albor = arbor 292
 -ale 37
 alacer 195 (1)
 Alesander 255
 alevanti = eleph- 321
 Alexander 38, 255
aliquem 71
aliquen 71
 -alia 37
 alicer 195 (1)
 alicunus 71
 alid = aliud 71
 alio(r)sum 291
 alipes = ad- 281 (1)
 aliquanti 71
 aliqui 71
 aliquis 13, 71
 aliquot 71
 -alis 39
 alium 224
 alius 71
 allare 405, 435
 allegorizare 19
 alleviare 34
 allium 274
 a longe 47
alques 71
 alter 71, 233, 395
 altiare 34
 altior 377
 altissimus 377
 altitia 37
alto (adv.) 40
 altra 233
 altrui 395

alumni (nom.) 372
am 78
 amadus = -t- 286
 amantis (nom.) 367
amdo 424
 amaricare 34
 ama(t) 285
 ambitare 405
 ambolare 232
 ambulare 10, 232, 405
amei 424
 amenus 215
 amfora 334
 amicia 276
amido 187
amistat 154
 amita 239, 359, 359 (1)
 amitan 359 (1)
 amitanis 359
 amma 16
 amnavit 405
amdo 424
 a modo 47
amourette 37 (-ittus)
 ampitratu 277
 ampura 334
 amurca 186
 amure 203
 amygdalum 19 ✓
 an 11, 14, 83
 -an 36
 -ā 36
 anangi 331
 anathema 19
 anathematizare 19
 anc 40
 anc = hanc 251
anca 343
 ancilla 187
 ancora 150, 187
 -ancus 37 (-incus)
 -anda 37
 andare 405
andata 37 (-ta)
 Andreani 359 (1)
 Andreate 359 (2)
 andron 331
 anellus 37, 42

232
39, 42
e 40
s 19
s 86
us 39
ia 208 (1)
la 163
lus 233
iare 34
s 276
us 358
lico 37 (-icca)
s 276
is 359
405
37 (-ta)
is 359
re 405
vimus = -bi- 318
re 405
: annos 247
9
3
39
5
ttere 46
tis (nom.) 367
37
s 226
re 184
ona 184
: annos 244
39, 42
124
343
428
428, 429
s 436
ca 182
carius 39
scere 35
8
idere 12
410
315
ere 315
: -æ 244

apud 14, 78, 282
aput 282
aqua 164, 223
aquilotto 37 (-ottus)
-ar 37
Arbonenca 37 (-incus)
arbor (masc.) 346 (4)
arb(o)rem 235
arboricellus 153
ardente(m) 309
ardere 399
ardire 343
-are (infin.) 33, 34, 36,
397-8
-are (nouns) 37
ares = aries 225
aretem 225
argentum 259
-aria 37
-aricius 39
arida (noun) 13
ar(i)dorem 219
ar(i)dus 237
aries 225, 255
ariex = -s 255
-aris 39
-aris > -alis 292
-arius 39
armeise 184
armentas 352
-aro 39 (-arius)
Aroncianos 276
arrespex = haruspex 251
Arrius 251
arroser 356 (3)
arsi 429
arsus 441
artemisia 184
artetico 184
arthriticus 184
Article 57, 68, 392
artic(u)lus 234
arvorum = adversum 281
(2)
arvum > arum 226
-as 38
-as > -i 443
ascella = axilla 42, 255

ascendiderat 426
ascetes 182
ascla 284
asculta 228
a semel 47
aspargo 31
aspectare 25
Aspirates 249-52, 265
aspra 233
-asse 161
-assem 161
-assemus 433
-assetis 433
Assibilation 277-8, 260-1
Assimilation 229 (3), 255,
264, 265, 267, 269, 282,
293, 307, 310, 315
Asti 86
astula 284
at 11
at = ad 282
-ata 37 (-ta)
-aticum 37
atque- 24, 65
atque ille 24
atque ipse 65
atque is 65
atrium 12
atta 16, 359 (1)
Attane 359 (1)
atticissare 33
attinxi 429
Attitta 37 (-ittus)
-attus 37
at ubi 48
-atus 37 (-ta), 39, 42
participle 435, 440
au 178, 211-3, 228, 229 (7)
accented 178, 211-3
unaccented 228, 229 (7)
au > o 229 (7)
av 189
aUCA 13, 236
auCellus 13, 325
auCidere 212
audace (nom.) 367
audi = audiui 227, 423
audiendu'st 309

aud(i)entem 416
 aud(i)o 272-3, 416
 audivi(t) 285
 audus 236
 -aumus = -avimus 424
 aunc(u)lus 234, 236, 324
 Aureia = -elia 274
 Aureliati 359 (2)
 aurora 11
 aus = avus 241, 324
 ausare 18, 34
 ausculum = osc- 212
 Austus 263
 aut 174
 aut . . . aut 84
 -aut = -avit 424
 autem 11, 14
Authorities 5
 autor 266
 autumnal(e) 242
 auyo 272-3
 av- > au- 236, 241
 avaricia 276
avec 78
avello = *averlo* 293
 -avi > -ai 424
 avica 13, 236
 avicella 37, 42, 325
 av(i)dere 219
 avidus 236
 aviolus 13
 avis 13
 avis struthius 43
avire 400
 -avit > -ait -at -aut 241, 424
 avo = avus 362
 avus 13
 ayo = habeo 273

 b: see Labials
baboni 362
 bac(c)a 163
bacilo 37 (-ittus)
 bac(u)lus 234
 Baiocasses 151
 bajulus 233
 Baleria = Va- 316

Balerius = Va- 316
 bal(i)neum 146, 219
 balneus 347
 ballæna 150, 162, 333
 balneum 146: balneus 347
 balteum -us 347
 bannus 19
 baplo 235
 baptidiare 339
 baptisma 149
 baptizare 19, 33, 339
 baptizatio 19
 barba -anis 359, 359(1)
 barbane 359(1)
 barbar 242
 barbo -onis 359(1)
 barbutus 42
 baro 16
 bassiare 275
 bas(s)ium 163
basso 40
 battalia 16
battei 426
 ba(t)t(u)ere 137, 226
Bayeux 151
 bel(l)ua 164
 Bellus -onis 362
 bene 40, 74
 bene bene 55
 benegnus 172 (2)
 bene placitum 43
 Beneria = Ve- 316
 benignis 376
 benivolus 201
 berbeces 323
 berbex (-ix) 42, 317, 323
bestemmia 182
 Betrubius 316
beveire 37 (-tor)
 bi- 22
 bianca 341
 biber 242
 biblia 146
 bibui 428
 bibutus 438, 439
 Bictor 316
 biduanus 39
bieta 184

bifolco 318 (2)
 biginti = vi- 316, 322
 -bilis 39
 bimarius 22
 bintcente = vincente 260
 bis- 22
 bisaccium 22
 bisacutus 22
bisante 187
 bis coctum 43
 bis(s)it = vixit 255
 bivere = vi- 316
 bixit = vi- 316, 322
 blæsus 329
blanche 341
 blanka 341
 blankizare 34
 blasphemare 19, 36
 blasphemia 146, 182
 blasphemus 150
 blasta 312 (1)
 blitum 184
bobansa 336
 bobis = vo- 316
boccone 37 (-o)
bocconi 40
 Bodicca 37 (-icca)
 boletus 38, 184
Bologna 303
 bonatus 37 (-atus)
 Bonica 37 (-icca)
 bon(i)tatem 231
bonito 37 (-ittus)
 Bonitta 37 (-ittus)
 Bononia 303
 bonu 298
 bonus = -os 244
 bonus bonus 55
 bos = vos 316, 324
 botella 361
bottega 182
 botu = vo- 316, 322
 botula 361
 bovis (nom.) 367
 brac(c)a 163
 brachiale 37
 brac(c)hium 163
 brachia 352

branca 16
Breaking 177
 breviarium 37
 brevis 13
 Brittanice 40
 bruchus 193
 buplicæ = pu- 312 (1)
 bublus 235
 bubulcus 318 (2)
 buc(c)a 12, 163
 bullicare 35
Buolognino 154
 burrus 330
 Burrus 187
 bursa 187
 buscus 255
busta 187
 but(t)is 163
 butyrum 150
 buxida 187, 356 (3)
 buxus 187, 330
 Byzacinus 42

c: see Gutturals

c for g 253
 cy 276, 278
 -c 40
 caballus 12
 cabia = cavea 318
 cactivus 313
 cactus 313
 cadedi 428
 cadere 402
 caderunt 426
 cadui 428
 caelebramus (perf.) 424
 cælus 347
 Cæseris 233
 caesorium 37
caeth 313
 calamarium 37
 calamellus 37
 calamus 150
 calatus = ga- 330
 calcai = -avi 424
 calcaneum 37 (-ium)
 calce pistare 46
 calciare 224

calcis (nom.) 367
 calcius 224
 calcoste(g)is 259
caldo 40
 cal(e)facere 219
 calefacis 139
 calere 288
 cal(i)duſ 155, 219, 237
 calisco 414
calma 268
calotta 187
cals 255
 calumpnia 307
 calura 42
 camel(l)us 42, 150, 163
 camera 145
camerlingo 37 (-ing)
 caminus 150
 camisa 201 (1)
 cammarus 330
 canalia 37
 cani (pl.) 368
 cantare 34
 capabilis 39
 capere 8, 402
 capiclus 234, 284
 capire 406
 cap(i)talis 231
 capitaneus 39
 capitium 37 (-ium)
 capitulus 42, 234
 capitus 440
 capriolus 224
 captiare 34
 captio 9
 captivare 34
 captivus 313
 capud 282
 capui 428
 capum 285, 356 (3), 369
 capus 285, 356 (3), 369
 caput 13, 282, 285, 356 (3), 369
 cardonis (nom.) 367
 cardu(u)s 226
 carissimus 377
 caritabilis 39
 Caritta 37 (-ittus)

carnis (nom.) 367
 carnutus 39, 42
 caroneus 39
 carrica 11
 car(ri)care 18, 33, 231, 239
 cartas (nom. pl.) 357 (1)
 carum 263
 casa 12
Cases 85-100, 354, 372, 383
 caseum -us 347; cf. 163
casotta 37 (-ottus)
 cas(s)eus 163; cf. 347
 Cassiabus 358
 cas(s)us 161
 castaneus 346 (1)
 castellus 347
 castius 277
 castore (nom.) 367
 cata 19, 71
 cata unus 71
 cataveris = -d- 256
 catechizare 19, 33
 cat' unus 71
 cauculus 288
 cauditus 42
 caus(s)a 161
 cavia 224
 -ce 40
cecino 187, 330
 cedat = cædat 210
cedo 162
cedrus 182
cefalo 334
 celeps 315
 celerus 376
 -cellus 37
Celtic Words 19
 ce(n)sor 311
 census 260
 centu 381
 ceperint 215
 cepi 215
 cerasus 38, 195 (3)
 cerbus 323
 cerebellum 231
 cereolus 13
 ceresus 195 (3)
 ceresus 38, 195 (3)

certitudo 37
cetto 162
 -ceus 39
 Chairibertus 39 (-arius)
chaloir 288
Change of Meaning 8-10
Change of Suffix 42
 chan(n)e 163
 chartaceus 39
cher 263
chiaro (adv.) 40
chiave 288
 Chilperico 343
chiosa 185
Chiusi 86
 cholera 145
 chommoda 251
 c(h)orda 186, 332
 Chrestus 184
 chrisma 184
 C(h)ristus 184, 332
cib 206
 cicinus 330
 -cillus > -cellus 42
 cima 38, 187
 cimiterium 192
 cinctus 254
 cinctus 440
 cinqua(gi)nta 254, 379, 380
 cinque 254, 379
 cinsum = ce- 196
 cinus 347, 370
 cinxi 429
 cip(p)us 163
 circa 80, 96
 circare 16
 circueo 309
 circumdavit 430
 cis 14
 cit(h)era, -ara 38, 233
 cito 162
 citrus 329
ciurma 191
 -cius 39
 civ(i)tas 12, 231
 clamantis (nom.) 367
 clarisco 414
 Cla(u)dus 211 (1)

claudio 236, 325
 clausi 429
 clausus 441
 clavem 288
 clavido 236, 325
 Clepatra 191
clerc 154
clergue 154
Clerical Pronunciation
 218, 259¹, 260¹, 276, 277,
 297¹, 318 (1), 333 (1)
 clericatus 37
 cler(i)cus 39, 154, 239
 Clio 190
 Clodius 212
 cloppus 16
 closa 212
 cludo 211 (2)
 -clus 234
 co = quod 282
 coacla 289 (1)
 coactum 310
coccodrillo 294
 cocens 226
 coclearium 356 (3)
 coclia 224
 cocodrilus 294
 cocus 226
 coda 212, 213
 codex 213
 cœmiterium 192
 cœpi 72, 124
 coexcitare 30
 coexercitatus 30
 cofecisse 311
 cognatus 9, 269
 co(g)nosco 43, 197, 269, 310
 cognovi 428
 cognusco 197
 coherere 310
 cohors 12, 310
 coicere 310
 coiugi 271; cf. 311
 cojectis 311
 cojugi 311; cf. 271
 colaphizare 19
 col(a)p(h)us 19, 148, 154,
 186, 237, 330, 332

colbe 154
 coles 213
 coliadrum 292
 collecta 37 (-ta)
 collectus 37 (-ta)
 colli(g)ens 259
 col(li)gere 31, 139, 259,
 305, 444
 colliget 444
 col(lo)care 9, 31, 231, 1
collo 160
 collus -um 347
 colober 208
 colobra 208 (2), 217
 colomna 208
 coloquinta 187
 color (fem.) 346 (2)
colp 154
colustra 197
comenzare 276
cominciare 276
 cominiciare 276
 cominitiare 25, 153, 271
 comitem 235
 commando 31
comment 41
 commixtius 23
 comodo = quo- 226
 comœdia 192
 comparare 8, 12, 231, 2
Comparison 56
 comperare 231, 233
 complacere 25
 complire 400
Compound Words 43-
 comprehendit 250
 computare 31
 computus 235
comuna 376
 con- 23, 25
 concha 186
 concupiscencia 276
 condam 254
 condedit 139
 conder(e) 242
 condicio 276
 conditio 276
Conditional 124, 130, 4

confessor 18
 confortare 25, 34
 conger 329
 Congianus 272
 congigi 259
 Conjugation 101-30, 396-450
 Four Conjugations 396-407
 First 397-8
 Second 399-401
 Third 402-6
 Fourth 407
 Fundamental Changes 408-12
 Imperfect 420-1
 Inchoative Verbs 413-5
 Perfect 422-31
 Strong 427-31
 Weak 422-6
 Perfect Participle 434-41
 Personal Endings 442-50
 Pluperfect and Future Perfect 432-3
 Present Stems 416-9
 Use of Forms 101-30
 Conjunctions 82-4
 co(n)jus 255
 co(n)jux 171, 255, 311
 committere 32
 connato 269
 conobbi 428
 conoisser 413
 conopeum 146
 conovutus 440
 conpendium 32
 conplere 306
 consacrati 31
 conservam(m)us 163
 consensia 260, 275
 consili 227
 consilium 42
 consirier 37 (-erium)
 Consonants
 Aspirate 249-52
 Dentals 280-6

Double: see Double Consonants
 Germanic: see Germanic Consonants
 Greek: see Greek Consonants
 Groups 131-2, 160
 Gutturals 253-70
 Labials 312-26
 Latin 246-8
 Letters 246
 Liquids 287-96
 Nasals 303-11
 Palatals 271-8
 Sibilants 297-302
 constare 31
 consuere 31, 137
 consuetudo 42
 co(n)sul 171, 311
 conteneo 139
 continari 226
 contra 96
 contra- 26
 contrafacere 26
 co(n)ventio 171
 convivare 25
 coperire 225
 copersi 429
 copertus 436
 cophinus 186
 coque 254
 coraticum 18, 37
 corbeau 323
 corbi 323
 corbo 323
 corcodilus 294
 corcodrillus 294
 cores = corda 369
 corium 294
 Corneius = -elius 274
 Cornelio (nom.) 298
 cornicula 42
 cornu -um -us 347, 355 (1)
 cor(o)nare 231
 corp 323
 corpes = corpora 369
 corpi -ora 369
 corpo = corpore 356 (3)

corpo 160
 corregia 201
 corridiæ 272
 corrigo 305
 corrotulare 229
 cors 12, 310
 corso 208
 cortem 203, 225
 cortensis 39
 cortilis 39
 cortis 250
 corvo 323
 corvus 323
 cosol 311
 costumen 42
 cosul 305
 cot 254
 cotes 212
 cotidiæ 244
 cot(t)idie 162, 226, 244, 254
 couleuvre 208 (2)
 court 203
 couvent 311
 covenimus 311
 coventionid 311
 covetum = cubitum 208
 coxale 37
 coxi 429
 crebbi 428
 credea 421
 crededi 31, 139
 credens (noun) 13, 39
 credentia 37 (-antia)
 crêdere 410
 creditus 438, 439
 crepatus 435; crepere 194
 crepavi 428
 Crescentianus 277
 cresco 255
 cresima 184
 cresme 184
 crevi 428
 crevutus 440
 criblare 292
 crigne 351
 c'ritare 229
 crisi 206
 crocitare 35

crocodilus 150, 294
 c'rot'lare 229
 crucifigere 46
 crudilitas 197
 -crum 37 (-culum)
 crupta 187
 crus 13
 crust(u)lum 234
 crypta 187
 cubidus = cupidus 256
 cuculla 13; cf. 346 (4)
 cucullus -a 346 (4)
 cuerdo 369
 culcitra 294
 -culum 37, 234
 -culus > -cellus 42
 -c(u)lus 42, 234
 cum (conj.) 82, 226
 cum (prep.) 14, 78, 95, 305
 cumba 187
 cun = cum 305
 cunnuscit 269
 cuntellum = cul- 289 (2)
 cuoio 296
 cuopre 160
 cuore 160, 177
 cupa(t) 285
 cupire 406
 cupit 423
 cup(p)a 163
 cupressus 150
 cur 12, 82
 curabit = -avit 318, 322
 currens 39
 cursi 429
 cursorium 37
 curvus 323
 Cusanca 37 (-incus)
 cy 276-8
 cy = ty 277
 cycnus 187, 330
 cyma 38, 187; (fem.) 349
 cymba 187
 cymiterium 192
 cypressus 150

d: see **Dentals**
 dy 272

da 48
 dacruma 281 (1)
 dactylus 19
 dad 48
 Dafne 334
 dai 298
 dampnum 307
 Danuvium 318
 dao 397
 dare 397
 datius 324
Dative 90-1, 383
 dau 397
 dawn 397
 dave 48
 de 14, 48, 77, 88, 92, 95
 de- 23, 25
 de- > di- 229 (2)
 deabus 358
 de ad 48
 de ante 48
 deaurare 23, 25
 debbio 273
 debeo 273
 debere 10, 72, 117, 126 (4)
 debita 37
 deb(it)um 235, 239
 decanus 39
 dece(m) 309
 decem et (or ac) septem
 379
 dece(m)bris 306
 decemter 306
 dec(i)mus 239
Declension 85-100, 354-76
 Adjectives 374-6
 Fall of Decl. 100, 372-3
 Nouns 354-73
 Shift of Decl. 355-6, 376
 First 357-60
 Second 361-3
 Third 364-71
 Use of Cases 85-100
 declivis 376
 de contra 47
 decumus 220
 dede = dedit 285
 de deorsum 47

dedi 430
 dedicait 424
 ded(i)cavit 231
 dedro dedrot 285
 deexacerbare 30
 deexcitare 30
 definiciones 276
 defensa 37 -ta)
 defensi 429
 defensorius 39
 defensus 441
 deferet 406
Definite Article 68, 392
 de foris 47, 81
 defuntus 267, 306
 deggio 273
 defna 324
 de inter 48
 de intro 47
 de intus 47, 48
 deitas 37
 del(i)catus 227
 delitus 198
 delta 329
 de magis 47
 de medio 47
 deminat 139
Dentals
 d 272, 281-3
 dy 272
 nd > nn 281
 Final 282, 285
 Intervocalic 283, 286
 nd > nn 281
 nt 285
 st 285
 t 284-6
 denumerat 424
 deo(r)sum 291, 324
 deorsum 224
Deponent Verbs 113, 409
 de post 48
 deprendere 250
 de retro 47, 48, 292
Derivation 20-49
 descendidi 426
 de semel 47
 despererisser 414

- 55
 5
 8
 48
 m 47
 ;
 70, 393
 7
 18
 18
 229 (4)
 229 (4)
 318
 225; cf. 30
)sus 291
 ;
 es 355 (2), 397

 38
 sa 19
 1 2, 3
 96
 318
 406, 412
 ic 412
 309
 6
 448
 18
 = -g- 253
 36, 440
 digitus 233, 238,

 -dei 426
 167, 355 (2)
 12
 1, 361
 33, 238, 253, 259
 72 (2)
 29 (2)
 3 39
 64
 divinus 324
 227
 227
 = deorsum 291
 ngization 177
- Diphthongs** 177, 209-16
 æ 209-10
 au 211-3
 eu 214
 œ 215
 ul 216
 diposio 277
 dire 406
 directus 229
 diri(g)ens 259
 dirivare 229 (2)
 dis- 23, 25
 discere 12
 disfacit 139
 disfactus 23
 dis(je)junare 25, 229
 displacet 139
 displicina 289 (1)
Dissimilation 167, 195 (6),
 229 (4), 254, 289 (2), 292,
 303, 421, 426, 431
 distinguere 223, 226
 dila 351
 diu 11, 13
 diurnus 13
 divisi 429
 divisus 441
 divite (nom.) 367
 divota 229 (2)
 dixemus 232
 dixi 429
 dodecim 225
 dogma 186, 333
 dolor (fem.) 346 (2)
 dolus = dolor 18, 21
 domatus 435
 domin(i)ca 239
 dominicus 9, 239
 domnani 359 (1)
 domnicellus 37
 domnicus 235
 domnina 37
 domnizare 33
 domnulus 235
 domnus 235
 domus 12; (masc. and
 fem.) 346 (1); (2d decl.)
 355 (1)
- donec 11
 dont 70
 donum (masc.) 349
 dormio 224
 dormito 309
 dormitorium 37
 dormo 416
 dorsus 347
 dossum 291
 dou 397
Double Consonants 161-4,
 247, 328
Double = Single 162-3,
 247
Double > Single 161, 328
Single > Double 164, 328
Double Forms 158
Double Negation 75
Double Prefixes 30
 doucet 37 (-ittus)
 doussa 376
 drachma 144
 drappus 16
 d'rectus 229
 Dreux 151
 drieto 292
 dub(i)tare 231
 ducalis 39
 ducatus 37 (-ta)
 duce = duc 412
 ductus 440
 dui 167, 378
 dukissa 37
 dulcior (noun) 18
 dulcor 18, 37
 dume(c)ta 266
 dunc 40
 d'unde 70, 393
 duo 378
 duos 138
 durare 229 (5)
Duration 99
 duricia 276
 Durocasses 151
 duxi 429

 e 165, 177, 196-9, etc.
 accented 165, 196-9

ē 196-8
 ē 177, 199
 η 182
 ε 183
 ē > i 196-8
 e unacc. > i 229 (2)
 e > y 224
 ē prefixed to s + cons.
 230
 eē > e 225
 eu 214
 iē > e 225
 unaccented 219, 228, 229
 (2), 232, 243, 244
 ē > e 165
 ē > ē 165
 η 182
 ε 183
 e- 28
 -e 40
 -e > -æ 174, 244
 -e > -i 244, 364
 -η 38
 -ea 421
 eacit = jacet 224
 eam = jam 224
 -ebam: see -ea
 ebbi 411
 eccā 24
 eccam 24
 eccas 24
 ecce- 24, 65
 ecce ego 65
 ecce hic 24, 65
 ecce ille 24, 65
 ecce iste 24, 65
 ecce nunc 65
 ecce tu 65
 eccillam 24
 eccillud 24
 eccillum 24
 eccistam 24
 ec(c)lesia 146, 162, 182, 328
 eccos 24
 eccu- 24, 65
 eccu' ic 326
 eccu' ille 24, 65
 eccu' iste 24, 65, 326

eccum 24, 62, 65
 eccu' sic 24
 e contra 47
 ecus 226
 edediderit 426
 edere 13
 edificai 424
 -edo > -ido 197
 edus = hædus 210
 eē > e 225
 effigia 355 (2)
 effondrer 356 (2)
 effrenis 376
 eglesia 256
 egloge 330
 e(g)o 60, 73, 263, 385
 ego-met-ipse 66
 ei 190
 -ei 411
 -eia 146
 elius 271
 -eiv 36
 eio = ejus 298
 -eiv 146
 ejus 170, 298
 elementum 231
 elephantus 38
 elex = ilex 200 (2)
 elifanti (pl.) 368
 elimentum 231
 -elis > -ilis 197
 Elision 157, 242
 -elius > -ilius 197
 -ellus 37, 42
 elmo 343
 elud = illud 201
 -elus > -ellus 42
 emere 12
 encaustum 149
 Enclitics 156
 -enda 37 (-anda)
 Endings: Personal 442-50
 enim 11
 -ens 39 (-ans)
 -e(n)simus 311
 -e(n)sis 39, 311
 -ent > -eunt 416, 449
 -ent > -unt 449

-entia 37 (-antia)
 -enus > -inus 42
 eo = ego 73, 385
 eo quod 82, 110
 eoru 309
 episcopalis 39
 epistula 144
 equus 12
 equus = æquus 210
 -er > -re 245
 -er 39 (-arius)
 érable 43
 -ere (perf.) 450
 -ere > -ire 197
 eredes 251
 -ërem 346 (3)
 eremus 150
 eres 251
 erga 14
 ergo 11, 14
 ericius 42
 erigere 31, 429
 -erium 37
 erminomata 191
 ero 411
 -ero 39 (-arius)
 ersi 429
 erubisco 414
 -ërun 450
 ervum > erum 226
 ervus (3d decl.) 356 (2)
 -es > -i 443
 -es = -is 174, 244, 365-6,
 444
 es- = ex- exs- 230, 255
 -es 38
 Esaram 233
 -escere 34, 35, 197, 413-4
 eschernir 341
 eschine 341
 esclate 343
 -esco > -isco 197 414
 escupare 255
 es(i)mus 419 (1)
 -esimus > -isimus 197
 esmes 419 (1)
 espiar 343
 espier 343

- im 230
 r 341
 r 343
 m 255
 2-4, 126 (2), 419 (1)
 = essere 419
 = sedere 402
 61
 161
 = esse 419
 35
 230
 97
 397
 anus 230
 97
 r 341
 19 (1)
 it 244, 444
 di 49
 et 84
 ia 188
 i, 14, 277
 7
 37
 sti 359 (2)
 7
 izare 19
 191
 144
 lizare 19
 -ei 424
 ce 5
 7, 92, 95
 25
 = es- 230, 255
 -ix 42
 e 25
 ratus 39
 ite (nom.) 367
 re 25
 429
 is 441
 e 30, 274
 exeligit 274
 exe(m)plu 306
 exiat 224
 exient 449
 exinde 60
 exire 31, 266
 exodus 337
 expabui 428
 expandutus 441
 expaventare 35
 explendido 230
 exquartiare 276
 exs- = es- 230
 exstinctus 440
 exstinxi 429
 exsucidus 39
 exsucus 23
 extensa 37
 extimare 255
 extra- 27
 extrabuccare 27
 extranus 42
 ex tunc 47
 -essa 277
 f: see Labials
 fa 264, 404
 fabam 320 (1)
 fab(u)la 236
 fac 264, 404
 faccia 278
 face = fac 412
 facentem 416
 facere 10, 404
 facheret 410
 faciam 278
 facias 224
 fac(i)ebam 225, 420
 facienda 37
 facimus 448
 facire 404
 facitis 448
 factum 266
 factus 440
 facul 242
 facit 209
 fædus 320 (1)
 fæmina 209
 fænum 209
 fænus 347
 fageus 39
 failla 324
 fait 266
 fallii 430
 fallire 406
 fallitus 441
 falsare 34
 falsitas 37
 familia 42
 famis 366
 fammi 264
 famul 242
 famulabus 358
 fante 311
 faor 324
 farcitus 440
 fare 404
 farsus 440, 440
 fascia 10, 275
 faselus 334
 fasena 320 (1)
 fasia = faciat 285
 fasiolus 224
 fata 266
 fatatus 39
 fate 404
 fatus 347
 faula 236, 318
 febrarius 226
 feced = fecit 282
 fec(e)ru(nt) 233
 feci 430
 fēhu 343
 felicia 234
 felis 255
 fem(i)na 239
 feminabus 358
 Feminine: see Gender
 femps 356 (2)
 femus (3d decl.) 356 (2)
 fenire 229 (4)
 fenum 209
 ferbeo 323
 feritus 434
 ferre 12
 ferro 160

- fervere 399
 fervura 37
 fesit 260
feu 343
fesem 44
fiaba 289 (1)
 fiam 419 (2)
 fib(u)la 235
 ficatum 16, 141
 ficit 197
 fictus 440
 ficus (masc. and fem.) 346
 (1)
 ficus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 fidens 311
fiele 160
fiens 356 (2)
 fieri 112, 409, 419 (2)
fiero 160
 fiet 419 (2)
 figel 242
 fios = filios 274
 filiabus 358
 filias (nom.) 357 (1)
 filiaster 13
 filio(s) 298
 filius 155, 274; = filios 244
 filix 197
 filio 247
Fimes 86
Final Syllable 240-5
 finctus 440
 finis (adj.) 17
 finiscere 35
 finxi 429
fio 343
fiorentino 154
fioretto 37 (-ittus)
fiorisce 414
 fir- 29
 firicum 320 (1)
Firenze 86
 Firmus -onis 362
 fiscla 234
 fistula 234
 fistus 197
 fixi 429
 fixus 441
 fiaba 289 (1)
 flagrare 292
 flaois 324
 flator 37
 flaus 240, 324
 flavor 37
 fletus 11
 fleuma 268
fleurit 414
fleuve 208 (2)
 floralis 292
 florecer 414
 Florentinus 37
 florire 400
 florisco 400
 floviom 208 (2), 217
 fluviorum 224
 foces 213
 focus 8, 12
 fodiri 406
 folia 352
 follia (noun) 18
 follicare 33
 fons (fem.) 346 (4)
fons 356 (2)
fonte 205
fons 356 (2)
 foras 81, 96
forbatre 29
forbire 407
Foreign Words 19; see
 Germanic Words and
 Greek Words
 foresia 311
 foris 81
 foris- 29
 forisfacere 29
 forismittere 46
 formaceus 39
 formosus 161
 formunsus 208
 forsitan 305
 forte 40
 fortescere 34
 fortia 37
 fortis 10
 fortis fortis 55
fossato 37 (-ta)
 fractus 440
 fragellum 289 (2)
 fragilis 233
 fragrantia 37
 fra(g)rare 270
Francesco 341
 fractus 440
 Frankensis 39
 Frankiscus 39, 341
 Franko 341
 franxi 429
frate 295
fratemo 388
 frat(t)re 164
 frax(i)nus 239; (mc.) 346(1)
 fraumenta 268
 frecare 201; cf. 256
 frenum -us 347
 fricatus 435, 440
 fricda = frigida 238, 259
 frictus 440
 frigare 256; cf. 201
 frigidaria 219, 231
 frigdura 37
 Frigia 187
 frig(i)du 166, 200 (1), 233,
 238, 259
 frigora 351
 frigorem 347
 frixi 429
 frondifer 11
 frualitas 263
 fructa 351, 361
 fructus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 frundes 205
frunza 351
frutta 351
 fugii 430
 fugire 406
 fugitus 439
 fūi 431
 ful(i)ca 237
 fumāt 424
 fundus (3d decl.) 356 (2)
 fundutus 441
 funtes 205
 funus 11
fuore 160

n 407
203.
a 229 (6)
51
19
441
e 125-9, 411
v Fut. 127-9, 411
iphraetic Fut. 126
s. for Fut. 126 (1)
e Perfect 119, 123-4,
423

Gutturals
172
113, 236
236
343
343
s 330
1288
113, 263, 331
arus 330
341
lum 149
329
1 (sg.) 352
nonium 20
tus 441
236
la 257
16
re 343
341
1 = je- 259
288
(2d decl.) 355 (1)
lus 13
3406
us 439
428
3
r 345-53
1. and Neut. 351-3
ic. and Fem. 346
ic. and Neut. 347-50
t. Pl. > Fem. Sg. 352
t. Pron. and Adj. 350

genesis 148, 183
Genitive 88-9, 383
genitores 12
genitus 17
genna 229 (1)
gentilis 17
gentis (adj.) 17
gen(u)arius = jan- 259
genuculum 37, 42
genuflectere 46
genum 355 (1)
Gepte 259
gequir 343
Gerapolis = Hier- 259
gerbe 341
Germanic Consonants
340-4
b, c, g 341
ð, þ 342
h 343
w 344
Germanic Endings 36
Germanic Words 19, 152,
340-4
Germanissa 37
Gerund 104
Gerundive 105
gesso 187
gesta (sg.) 352
g'ga 341
giga 341
gigantem 229 (3)
ginocchioni 40
Giovannoni 362
giret 187
girus 187
giscle 341
glacia 355 (2)
Glacus 211 (1)
gladium 347
glanderia 39
glata 355 (2)
Glaucé -énis 359
Glaucu (nom.) 372
glirem 166
glos(s)a 161, 185
gluria 203
glut(t)ire 162

glut(t)o 163
gnæus 324
gocciare 276
gœrus 187
golosus 228
gonger 329
goule 177
gracilis 233
gracilus 376
grada 351
gradus 355 (1)
grandis 12
granditia 37
graphium 145
grassetto 37 (-ittus)
grassus 257
gratis = cratis 257
gravare 34
gravior 377
grece 210
Greek Accent 143-50
Oxytones 144
Paroxytones 145-6
Proparoxytones 147-50
Greek Consonants 327-39
β, γ, δ 329
κ, π, τ 330-1
θ, φ, χ 332-4
Liquids 335
Nasals 336
σ, ξ 337
ς 338-9
Greek Endings 36, 38, 146
Greek Vowels 180-93
Diphthongs 188-93
Single Vowels 180-7
Greek Words 19, 36, 38,
143-50, 180-93, 327-39
greu 40
grevior 377
grevis 195 (4)
grex (fem.) 346 (4)
grossior 377
grotta 187
gruis (nom.) 367
grunnio 281
guarire 344
guarnire 36, 407

- guatare* 343
gubernamentum 37
gubernare 36, 330
guerra 344
guidare 36, 398
guiderdone 342
guisa 344
gulo 37
gumma -i -is 38, 186, 330
gustus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
guttur (masc.) 347
Gutturals 253-70
 c > *c'* 258, 260-1
 c > *g* 256-7
 c, g before back vowels 263
 c, g before cons. 265-70
 c, g final 264
 ct 266
 g > *g'* 258-9, 261
 g intervocalic 263
 gm 268
 gn 172 (2), 269
 gr intervocalic 270
 gy 272.
 k 253
 nct 267
Palatalization 258-62
 qu 254
 sc > *sc'* 260
 x 255, 266
gylosus 228
gyrus 187

h 249-52
 h > *k* 252
habam = *fabam* 320 (1)
habe = *ave* 318
habe(b)am 421
habeo 273
habere 10, 121-4, 127-30, 239, 273, 285, 400, 401, 421, 438, 449
 haber 242
habe(t) 285
habeunt 416, 449
habibat 400
habire 400

hab(i)tus 239
habuerat 137
habutus 438
hache 343
hacherece 39
hædus 320 (1)
hamula 235
hanca 343
hanche 343
hant 401
hao 401
hapja 19, 343
haram 251
hardir 343
hardjan 343
harena 320 (1)
haribergum 19
has 401
hat 401
hatire 36
hatjan 36
haud 11
haunitha 342
haunjan 19
haunt 401
havite 400
has 355 (2)
hegit 251
hëlm 343
helme 343
hepatia 19
here 219, 244
heredes (sg.) 367
heremum 251
Hiatus 136-8, 222-7
hibernus 13
hic 63-4, 67-8
hic ipse 64
hiem(p)s 13, 297
hiens = *iens* 251
hilerus 233
hinsidias 251
hircum 320 (1)
his = *is* - *ins* - 230
hispatii = *spatii* 230
historia 146
ho 40
hoc 63, 163, 350

hocsles 277
hodie 272
hodio 251
hom(i)nes 232, 235
homni (pl.) 368
homo 10, 71
honera 251
honor 346 (2)
honte 342
hora 12, 185
hordeum 272
horrescere 11
hortesia 311
hospitale 12
hossa 251
hostium 251
Hûgo Hûgon = *Hûgo Hugonem* 152, 362
huile 274
humerus 12
humiliare 34
Huon 152, 362

i 165, 200-1, etc.
accented 200-1
 i 200
 i 201
 i > *e* 201
 e > *i* 201
 i > *i* 165, 200
 i > *e* 201
 i > *i* > *e* 165, 201
 i (cons.) 222
 i > *y* 224
 -*i* > -*e* 224
 - (Greek) 184
 - (Greek) 38
 ié > *e* 225
 ii > *i* 227
 prefixed to *s* + cons. 230
unaccented 219, 221, 228, 229(3) (4), 240, 243, 244
 in *hiatus* 222, 224-5, 227
 i > *e* 229 (4)
 i > *a* 229 (3)
 -*ia* 37, 146
 -*la* 37, 146

- 224
b, 34
39
5

13, 34, 35
7
37
2, 346 (3)
37, 39, 42
17, 39, 42
3
35
42
9
1, 309
m 62, 350
150, 190
9
re 339
225
> -ebam 225; >
n 420
311
m 259

9
-ia 335 (2)
gesta 259, 352
1
1
106, 311
11
1
77
11, 14
33
2
1310

sented > i 227, 423
1
2
o
at.) 390
10
390

ille 10, 61-8, 389-92
illei 390
ille ipse 64
illejus 390
illi = ille 390
illic 140
illo (dat.) 390
illorum = suus 387
illud > illum 282, 350
illui 390
illujus 390
illum = illud 282, 350
illurum 390
-illus > -ellus 42
im = in 310
imaginaris 39
imbecillis 376
immudavit 256
Imperative 115-6, 412
impinguare 25
impinxi 429
implicat 139
implire 400
-Imus > -imus 447-8
in 86, 92, 95, 96, 97
in- 23, 25
in + s > is 310
inanimatus 23
in ante 47, 48
incendiderit 426
Inchoative Verbs 400,
413-5
inclausus 139
incohare 250
in contra 47, 48
incudo 42, 370
incuninem 42
incus 42
-incus 37
inde 60, 71, 384
inde fugere 46
Indefinite Article 57
Indefinite Pronouns: see
Pronouns
Indicative
Conditional 130, 411
for **Imperative** 116, 412
for **Subjunctive** 117

Future 125-9, 411
Future Perfect 119,
123-4, 410
Imperfect 120, 420-1
Perfect 121-4, 422-31
Pluperfect 123-4, 410,
432
Present 120, 273, 397,
401, 403-5, 415, 416-9
indicibilis 39
induruit 224
-inem 346 (3)
infa(n)s 10, 311
i(n)fans 171
infantiliter 40
i(n)feri 171, 219
infernus 13
Infinitive
as **Noun** 111
Conjugations 396-407
dicere 406
esse 419
facere 404
for **Clause** 111
for **Imperative** 116
for **Subjunctive** 111, 117
for **Supine and Gerund**
103, 104
habere 400
Passive 109
Perfect 109
with **habere** 125-9, 411
posse 403
Present Active 102, 109
velle 403
with **Accusative** 82, 110

inflare 31
Inflections
Forms 345-450
Use 85-130
infra- 27
infraponere 27
infri 219
infurcare 25
-ing 37
ingenium 9
ingens 259
in giro 48

- ingus 37 (-incus)
 in hodie 47
Initial Syllable 228-30
 inlatus 32
 in mane 47
 in medio 48
 innoce(n)ti 306
 innocus 226
 in odio 43
 inprobus 32
 inquit 282
 in quo ante 254
 -inquus 37 (-incus)
 ins- = is- 230
 in semel 47
insiememente 41
 insola 232
 instruo = struo 230
 ins(u)la 171, 233, 284
 intcitamento 260
 inte(g)rum 270
 Interamico 307
 Interanniensis 307
Interrogatives: see Pro-
nouns
Intertonic Vowel 231
 intra 96
 intra- 27
 intratenere 27
 intravidere 46
 intre 245
 intro(r)sus 291
 intus in 49
 -inus 37, 42
 -Inus 39
 -io > -o 416
 ipsa mente 41
 ipse 61-8, 390-2
 ipse ille 64
 ipsejus 390
 ipsimus 66
 ipsud 390
 ipsujus 390
 ipsus 390
iraisser 413
 irascere 413
 ire 126 (5), 405
 -ire 33, 34
 is 62-4, 67-8
 is- = ins- his- 230
 -is = -es 244, 365-6, 444
 -is 38
 -iscere 34, 35
Ischia 284
 ischola 230
 ischolasticus 230
 -isco for -esco 197, 414
 iscripta 230
 -iscus 39
 is ipse 64
 ismaragdus 230
 isperabi 230
 ispose 230
 -issa 37
 -issare 33
 isse 313
 -isse 161
 -issem 161
 -issimus 166
 istare 230
 istatuam 230
 iste 63-8, 390-2
 iste hic 64
 iste ille 64
 iste ipse 64
 istudio 230
 it = id 282
 -it = -et 244, 444
 ita 11
 Italia 224
Italic Tribes 1, 2
 -itare 34, 35
 -itas 37
 -ite > -fte 448
 -iter 40
 -itia 37, 277
 -ities 37
 -Itis > -ftis 448
 -ittus 37
 -itudo 37
 -Itus 42 (2), 436, 438, 440,
 441
 -Itus 435, 438-9
 -ium 37
 -iunt > -unt 416
 -ius 39
 -iva 37
 ivena 311
 -ivi > -ii > -i 423
 -ivit > -iut -iit > -it 42
 -ivum 37
 -ivus 39
 -ix 42
 -izare 33, 34, 339
 -izur 33
 izophilus 333
 j 271
 jacente(m) 309
 jadis 244
 Jacobus 150, 329
 Jacomus 329
 jagante 229 (3)
jaiant 229 (3)
 jajunus 229 (1)
jambe 263
 -jan 36
 janarius 226
jaquir 343
jauset 426
 jēhan 343
jehir 343
 jejunus 229, 229 (1)
 jeniperus 229 (5)
 jenua 229 (1)
 jenuarius 229 (1)
jeune 208 (2)
 jiniperus 229 (5)
 Joanneni 359 (1)
 Joannentis 359 (2)
 Joannis 244
 jocus 12
 juvenis 208 (2), 217
 jovis 367
 jubari 322
 jubem(m)us 163
 jubenis 318
 jubentutis 318, 322
 jubere 11
 Judaizare 19
 judicat 424
 judicius 347
 judico 239
 judigium 278

- 233
 enis 359
 eta 37 (-ittus)
 . 37 (-ittus)
 305
 rus 229 (5)
 129
 iter 163
 rīā 39
 172
 o 219
 355 (1)
 a 276
 i 276, 277
 i 277
 nis 235
 a 356 (3)
 e 318
 31, 96

 253
 titatem 289 (3)
 os = candidus 330
 emo 201
 i 37 (-icca)
 ulato = cal- 288
 (n)s 311
 s = conjux 311, 339
 e 298
 iui 187, 223

Liquids
 74
 la 392
 ls
 imilation 313
 5-9
 itial 316
 intervocalic 318
 py, vy 273, 319
 o-i
 l of Vowel after
 abial 235-6
 nence on Vowels 217
 12-4
 16
 2-5
 iter liquid 323

 intervocalic 324
 Voicing 314
 laborait = -avit 424
 laceus 254
 lacte 367
 lactem 347
 lacus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 ladro 372
 ladrone 372
 lætiscere 34
 lambros 331
 lamna 235
 lampada 356 (3)
 lampa(s) 38, 144, 335
 lancia 224
 la(n)terna 306
 lanutus 42
 lapsus 315
 laqueum 347; cf. 254
 lardum 237
Latinization 1, 2
 latrone (nom.) 367
 lat(t)rones 164
 lattucæ 266
 Lauriatu 224
 lausenga 37 (-ing)
 lausi 443
 Lazis = Ladiis 339
 lealis 263
 lebat 318
 lebis 318
 lebra 256
 lectio 9
 lectus -um 347
 lectus (p.p.) 440
 legare 201
 leges 259
 legit 259
 legui 428
 leniit 423
 lenticula 42
 lentis (nom.) 367
 leo 38
 leticia 276
 levare 34
 leviarius 39
 levior 377
 levitus 435, 439

 lexi 428, 429
Liaison 133, 159
 liamen 263
 libe(n)s 311
 liberio 298
 libertas (nom. pl.) 357 (1)
 libraria 37
 ligare 201, 263
 ligna (sg.) 352
 lignum -us 172 (2), 347
 liminare 37
 linguas (nom.) 357
 liniamenta 224
Linking 133, 159
 lintium 224
Liquids
 Assimilation 293
 Dissimilation 292
Fall of Vowel after
 Liquid 237
Fall of Vowel before
 Liquid 233-4
 l 287-9
 ly 274
Metathesis 294
 r 290-6
 rs 291
 ry 296
 lit(t)era 163
 lit(t)us 163
 Livitta 37 (-ittus)
 ll > l 161
 llave 288
Locative 86
 locun 305
 locuplens 311
 locuplex 255
 lodi 443
 loir 166
 longa mente 41
 longe 40
 longior 377
 longius 377
 longum tempus 13
 loquella 42
 loreola 213
Lost Words 11-4
 lotus 213

- luce (dat.) 244
 lucēre 399
 lucire 400
 lucor 37
 lucto 355 (1)
 lucus = locus 205
 ludus 12
 lugēre 399
 lugire 400
 luminem 347
 lunæ dies 89
luoghi -ora 349
 lūrdus 207 (1)
 luridus 166, 207 (1)
 luxi 429
 luxuria 355 (2)
 ly 274

 m: see *Nasals*
 ma = mea 388
 -*ma* 38
 machina 144
 machinari 9
 macra 376
 madias = majas 272
 madio = majo 272
madrema 388
 maestati 259
 maester 259
 magias = majas 272
 magida = 38, 145
 ma(g)is 56, 71, 74, 84, 157, 259
 ma(g)ister 259
 magnisonans 44
 magnus 12
 Maia 188, 222
 Maiiam 222
 mais = magis 157, 259
 major 170, 377
 mala mente 41
 male 40
 male habitus 44
 malicia 276
 malleus 274
 mal(l)o 161
 malus malus 55
 mam(m)a 16, 359
 mam(m)anis 359
 mammula 13
 manducare 13
 mane 13
 man(l)ca 239
manicā 37 (-icca)
 manipulus 42, 233
 manos 355 (1)
 mansi 429
 mansio 12
 mansorius 39
 mansus 441
 manuaria 18
 manuplus 42
 manus (masc. and fem.) 346 (1)
 manu tenere 46
 Maps: pp. x, xi
 Marcianus 278
 Marcus 284
 mare (fem.) 349
 marem 347
 mares = -is 244
 mari -e 364
 marinarius 39
 maris (masc. and fem.) 347, 349
 markensis 39
 marmor (fem.) 353; cf. 347, 369
 ma(r)mor 292; cf. 347, 353
 marmora 351
 marmorem 347, 369
marrir 407
 marrjan 407
 Marsianesses 277
 Marsuas 187
 Marsyas 187
 mas = magis 157
 mascel 242
 Masculine: see *Gender*
 masc(u)lus 234
 masma = maxima 238
 massa 338
 mate(r) 295
 materia 355 (2)
 matrona(s) 298
 mat(t)rona 164
 matutinus 13
 maurus 336
 maxime 56
 maximus 56, 220, 238, 297
 maxumus 220
 Meanings of Words 7-10
 Change of Meaning 8-10
 mecu 309
 Medea 190
 Medentius 338
 media 272
 medianus 39
 medicus 239
 medio die 43
 medio loco 43
 medius 272
 meletrix 292
 melior 377
 melius 56, 377
 melum 195 (5)
 membras 352
 memoramus (perf.) 424
 -men 37
 mendatium 276
 me(n)sa 311
 mense(m) 309
 mensi (pl.) 368
 me(n)sis 171, 198, 201, 311
 me(n)sor 311
 mensorium 37
 menta 184
 -mente 41
 mente habere 46
 mentire 409
 -mentum 37
 mentus 347
 menus 201
 mercatus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 meretis 238
 meridies 281 (2)
 mer(i)to 237
 mers = merx 255
Messac 277
 messui 428
 messura 37
 met- 24, 66

- iesis 245, 255, 289
 294
 us 277
 e 24, 66
 imus 66
 : 441
 : 204 (1)
 : mi 87
 n = mæstum 255
 272
 ius -a 87, 387
 ihi 250, 385
 re 17
 152
 : 184
 = micat 256
 44
 255
 61, 381
 ilium 38
 a 161
 iæ 229 (2)
 er 201
 eri(i) 89, 227
 sterium 231
 (r)orum 292
 377
 198, 201
 201, 377
 - 29, 245
 is- 245
 credere 29
 est 29
 pretiare 46
 is 10
 lia 37, 229 (4),
 meis 388
 45
 e 399
 are 35
 . 376
 i 161, 163, 429
 ium 37
 us 441
 : 440
 ius 39
 s 204 (1), 217
- moc 428
 modernus 18
 modo modo 40
 moere = mov- 324
 Moesia 187
 molui 428
 molutus 439
 monarchia 37
 monasterium 182
 -monia 37
 monibam 420
 moniti = mu- 228
 -monium 37
 mo(n)strare 311
 monumento = -um 244
Mood 115-9
 morbu(s) 298
 mordere 399
 morire 406
 moriri 406
Morphology 345-450
 morsi 429
 morsus 441
 mortificare 46
 mortu(u)s 226
 mossus 438, 440, 441
 motto 187
 movi 428
 movit 244
 movita 37; cf. 438, 439
 movitus 438, 439; cf. 37
 movutus 438, 440
 muc(c)us 163
 mueble 204 (1)
 mul'erem 225
 mulier 9, 136
 mulieris 136
 nullus 187
 mulsi 429
 multum 74
 multus 71
 muntu = multum 289 (2)
 mur 206
 murare 229 (5)
 muri -a 349
 muritta 37 (-ittus)
 murta 187
 mutare 229 (5)
- Mute + Liquid** 132, 160
 mut(t)ire 162
 myrta 187
 Mysia 187
 mysterium 182, 187
 n: see **Nasals**
 n + fricative 171, 311
 ny 274
 nacui 428
 nam 11
 narratus 37 (-ta)
Nasals 303-11
 Final or + Cons. 304-6
 -m falls 309
 -n falls 310
 mn 307
 n + fricative 171, 311
 ny 274
 nasco 255
 nascutus 438
 nasum -us 347
 natatorium 37
 nativitas 37
 natus 13, 438
 naucella 13
 naufragus 325
 nautat 236
 navicella 37
 navitat 236
 ne 14, 75, 83, 229 (2)
 Nebitta 37 (-ittus)
 nebula 235
 necare 9
 necator 37
 necatus 435, 440
 necavi 428
 nec ente 71
 nec unus 71
 ne ente 71
 negare 263
 negat 256
Negation 75
 negliencia 259
 nemo 71
 neofiti 334
 nepoti(s) 298
 ne'ps'unus 71

nepta 37
 neptia 37
 neptilla 13
 Nerba 317, 323
nerbo 323
nerf 323
 Neroua 322
 nervia 349
 nervus 323, 349
Neuter: see Gender
 ni = ne 229 (2)
 nichil 251
 nepos 177
 ni(g)rum 270
 nihil 71, 250, 251
 nil 250
 nimpæ 332
 nise 229 (4)
 nitidus 238
 nittus 238
 nivicare 18, 33
 nobe 318
 nobilis 11
 nobis 318, 385
 nocere 399
 nocui 223, 328
 noembrios 324
 noembris 324
 noicius 324
 nolo 161
 nome 336
 nomem 305
 nomes = nomina 369
Nominative 97, 100, 373,
 383
Absolute 97
 non 75, 203
 nona(i)nta 380
 nonna 16
 nonnita 37 (-ittus)
 nonnitus 37 (-ittus)
 nonnus 16
 noptiæ 207 (2)
 nora 208 (3)
 Normannice 40
 norus 208 (3)
 notrire 229 (5)
 noii 40

Nouns 345-73
**see Declension and Gen-
 der**

nous 177, 324
 nova(i)nta 380
 novellus 13
 novius 207 (2)
 noxeus 224
 ns 171, 311
 nubis 366
 nulli (gen.) 395
 nullus 71, 395
 num 83
Numerals 57-8, 378-82
Accent 142
 nummus 328
 nun = non 203
 nunc 12
 nuncius 276
 nuncquam 305
 nunqua(m) 305, 306, 309
 nupsi 297
 nutrire 166, 229 (5)
 nutritio 37
 nutritura 37
 ny 274
 nynfis 306

o 165, 167, 177, 197, 202-5,
 etc.

accented 202-5

ō 202-4

ō > o 197, 203

ou > qu 167

o > u 202

o > ou 203

ō 165, 205

ō > o 205

o > uo 177

o for au 212-3

oi > æ > e 192, 215

oō > o 225

ou > qu 167

unaccented 219, 228, 229

(6), 243, 244

uo > o 225

o 37, 40

o (Greek) 186

ω (Greek) 185

ob 14, 79

ob- 28

obdormire 28

obferre 32

obliscor 324

oblitare 34

obprimere 32

observazione 277

oc 251

occansio 311

occidere 212

occubavit 256

occu(m)bas 306

occurire 406

-occus 37

ocio 276

ocium 276

octa(gi)nta 380

oc(u)lus 219, 234

odedere 426

Odissia 187

œ 215

œ for æ and e 215

offeret 406

offerire 406

offersi 429

offertus 435, 440

offla 235

oi > æ > e 192, 215

oi (Greek) 192

ola 213

oleo 274

oleum 38, 274

oli 274

oli(m) 309

olio 274

omnes = -is 244

omnimodus 44

omnis 12, 71

omo 251

-omus 446

on 71

-on 36

-ov 38

-ov 38

-ones 40

-oneus 39

39
6
s 311
:
225
409
on = officium 334
are 28
42
nine 346 (2)
-re 245
-ura 42
ora 251
em 276
aur- 212
Hor- 251
um 37

f Words 50-3
Numerals 382
346 (3)
12, 229 (7)
1339
37
39
86, 337
a 37
us 186
432
hor- 251
aurum 212
2
sc.) 349
eek) 38
2
-usco 197, 202-3
um 42
um 42
137
156 (3)
137
r 37
re 34
hos- 251
202
= aus- 212
: 213, 229 (7)
it 213, 229 (7)

otia 277
otobris 266
otogentos 266
-cttus 37
ou (Greek) 193
ou > ou 167
Ouiouia = Vibia 318, 322
oum 167, 324
ovum 167, 217, 324
oze = hodie 272
ozie = hodie 272

p: see Labials
paceveci = pacifici 321
pagandum 256
paganus 8, 263
pa(g)e(n)sis 39, 259
palanca 332
palasium 277
Palatalization 258-62,
272-8, 296
Palatals 271-8, 296
by 273
c': see Gutturals
cy 276, 278
dy 272
g': see Gutturals
gy 272
j 271
ly 274
ny 274
py 273
ry 296
scy 275
ssy 275
sty 275
sy 275
ty 276-7
vy 273
palatium 277
palleum 224
palma 145
palpebrum 352
palpres 134
pandiderunt 426
pani 364
panneus 39
pantaisar 332

paor 324
papaver (masc.) 347, 369
papilionis (nom.) 367
pap(p)a-us 16
papyrius 39
parabula 144, 236
parabulare 155
paradisus 190
paraula 236, 318
parcui 428
parecer 414
parens 10, 12
parentis (nom.) 367
parentorum 368
pari 364
par(i)etes 136, 225
parietibus 224
Parigi 86, 227
pari mente 41
Paris 86
Parisiis 227
pars 429
parsus 439, 441
part 160
partentem 416
Participle
Fut. Active 106
Fut. Passive 105, 408
Perfect 102, 108, 434-41
Present 102, 104, 107,
408
Particles 156-8
particularis 39
partunt 416
parutus 438, 439
pasmer 300
passans 39
passi(m) 309
Passive 112-4, 409
passos 355
paucum tempus 13
paucus 71
paul(l)um 161
Paulus -onis 362
paupera 376
pauperorum 376
pauca 38
pavi 428

pa(v)onem 324
 pa(v)orem 324
 pavura 42
 pavutus 440
 paze 260
 pectinare 33
 pectorem 347
 pediculus 42
 pedis (nom.) 367
 peduculum 234
 peduculus 42
 pejor 170, 377
 pejus 377
 pelegrinus 292
 pellabor 293
 pellicere 293
 pellige 293
pello 293
 pendutus 441
 pe(n)sare 171, 311
 pensi 429
 pensus 441
Penult 232-9
 per 14, 79, 93, 96, 99
 per > pel 293
per 160
 per- 26
 percolopabat 237
 perdidit 139, 426
 perdita 37 (-ta)
 perdonare 26
 perdutus 438, 439
pere 160
 pere(g)rinus 270
 peres = pedes 281 (2)
Perfect 121-4, 410, 422-31
 Strong 427-31
 Weak 422-6
Perfect Participle: *see*
 Participle
Perfect Subjunctive 119,
 123-4
 per giro 48
 per girum 48
 peria(t) 285
Periphrastic Future 126
 perft 423
 perlum = præ- 294

perpenna 292
 persi 429
 pe(r)s(i)ca 239
 persona 71
Personal Pronouns: *see*
 Pronouns
 persus 439, 441
Pesaro 151
 pessica 291
 pessimus 377
pestio 284
 pestulum 284
 petft 423
 Petrus -onis 362
petto 160
 peuma 268
 ph: *see* **Greek Consonants**
 phalanx 181
 pharetra 145
 phaselus 334
 Phasis 181
 Phebus 192
 phiala 145
 philosophia 37
 philus 184
 phimus 184
 Phitonis 332
 phitonissæ 332
 phoca 185
 Phœbus 192
Phonology 131-344
 Phyebe = Phœbe 215
piano 40
 pictus 440
 pietas 298
pietra 160
 pignus 172 (2)
 pi(g)ritia 270
 Pilipus 332
 pinctus 440
pini 365
 pinxi 429
 piper 38, 183, 347, 369
 piperem 347, 369
 pirata 144, 190
 Pisaurese 297
 Pisaurum 151
pitocco 185

plus 167
 placencia 37
plach 154
 placuit 223, 326
 plagiare 33
 plangit 259
 plantare 33
 planura 37
 planxi 429
 platea 146, 190
 plaudisti 426
 pleps 297, 315
 plicare 10, 435
 plicatus 435
 plodere 213
 ploja 169, 208 (4), 273
 plostrum 212
 plotus 212, 213
 plovere 169, 208 (4), 217
 pluere 169, 208 (4), 217
Pluperfect 118, 123-4, 410
 432, 433
Pluperfect Subjunctive
 118, 123, 433
 plurigo = præ- 292
 plus 56, 74
 pluvia 169, 208 (4), 273
poco 40
 podium 272
 poella 208
 poena 192
 poeta 192
 poggio 272
 polippus 145
 pollicare 37
 pollulum 213
pols 370
polire 134
polve 370
polvo 370
 polypus 145
 pomex 207 (2)
 pon(e)re 239
 pontevecem 321
 pontivicatus 256
 pontufex 220
 poplex 255
 pop(u)lus 10, 235

por 14
porcellus 37
porphyreticum 187
portare 12
posi = posui 428, 429

Position 160-4

positus 238, 439

posmeridianus 285

posse 126 (3), 403 (1)

Possessives: see Pro-
nouns

posso 403 (1)

pos(t) 96, 285

postea 275

pos(t)quam 11, 285

posturus 238

postus 238

Post-Verbal Nouns 21

posueram 285

posuet 244

posui(t) 285

potebam 403 (1)

potebo 403 (1)

poteo 403 (1)

potere 403 (1)

pōteri 410

potestas 356 (3)

potionare 33

potis 17

potius 74

præ 14

præ- 28

præber(e) 242

præcoca 376

præda 209

prædestinare 28

prædiscer(e) 242

præfetto 266

prægn(a)n(s) 255, 311

præstare 31

præstavi 422, 430

præstus 376

prandium 272

pranso 272

præ- 28

prebiter 300

preda 209

Prefixes 21-32

pregnax = prægñans 255;

cf. 311

prendere 225, 250

prendiderunt 426

prendo 250

prensi 429

prensio 37

prensus 441

Prepositions 76-81, 85-9

presbyter 148, 300

presbyterum 148

Present 120

for Future 126 (1)

Stems 273, 397, 401,

403-5, 415, 416-9

presentis (nom.) 367

presium 277

pressi 429

pressorium 37

pressura 37

pressus 441

presta 210

presteti 139

præta 300

pretium 277

præveire 300

pride(m) 309

primitius 324

principens 367

pri(n)cipis 306

Prixsilla 255

pro 14, 79, 95

pro- 28

probai 424

Proclitics 156-8

prodis 17

Progne 330

proles 11

prolongare 28

promptulus 39

Pronouns 59-71, 383-95

Demonstrative 61-8

Indefinite 71, 395

Interrogative 69-

70, 393-4

Personal 60, 67, 384-6

Possessive 60, 387-8

Relative 69-70, 393-4

Pronunciation 131-344

prophetissa 37

prophetizare 19

propietas 292

propio 292

propter 14, 79, 96

provata 318

provitus 435, 439

proximus 377

psallere 36, 337

ptisana 145

pudicicia 276

pugnis 172 (2)

pulvus 347, 370

punctus 440

puni = poni 203

punidor 39

punxi 429

pupillabus 358

puplu 309

pup(p)a 163

pure 40

puritas 37

purpura 145, 186, 330,

332

purpureticum 187

putator = po- 229 (6)

puteolis 136

puteum 347

putrire 400

putrisco 400

puulva 356 (3)

Pyrrhus 187

pyxis 187

q 246, 252, etc.

'qu 223, 226, 254

'qu > k, 226, 254

qua 82

quadraginta 142, 380; cf.

259

quadra(i)nta 380

quattro 283

quæsi 426, 429

quæstus 436, 440

qualis 70, 71, 394

quamta 306

quan 305

quando 14, 82, 281
quannu 281

Quantity 159-77, 221

Development of New

Quantity 176-7

Disappearance of Old

Quantity 173-5

Doubtful Quantity 166

Length before Conso-
 nants 170-2

Position 160-4

Unaccented Vowels 174,
 221

Vowels in Hiatus 167-9

Vowel Length 165-77

Words from Other Lan-
 guages 174-5

quantu(m) 309

quantus 12, 71

quare 12, 82

quarranta 142, 259, 380

quase 244

quasi 83, 219, 244

quat(t)or 226, 379

quattordecim 379

quat(t)ro 226, 245, 379

quei 393

quejus 393

que(m) 309

quen 305, 309

querceus 39

quercinus 39

querel(l)a 42

questor 210

questus 210

quietus 225

qui 69, 71, 393

qui = quia 82

qui = ky 187, 223

quia 82, 110, 168

quiatu 209

quicumque 71

quid 350

quidem 11

quiesces 311

quietus 225

quin 11

quinqua(gi)nta 142, 380

quinque 172 (1), 200

Quintrio = Win- 344

quippe 11

quique 71

quiritare 229

quis 69, 71, 350, 393

quisque 71

quisquis 71

quo 73

quo = quod 282

quoad 11

quod 14, 82, 110, 282, 350

quodlubet 220

quomodo 14, 82

> comodo 226

quoniam 14, 82, 110

quooporta = co- 254

quoque 11

quot 12, 71

quot = quod 282

quum > cum 226

r: see Liquids

rs > ss 291

rabies 319

radius 272

rænante = reg- 269

raggio 272

rama (pl.) 361

ramenc 37 (-incus)

rancura 42

ranucula 42

rap(i)dus 239

rasi 429

rasio = ratio 277

ratio 277

razzo 272

re- 23, 25

recapitulare 25

recipit 139

recolli(g)endo 259

Recomposition 31, 32, 139

rectus 440

recubitus 37 (-ta)

reculons 40

reddedi 31, 139

redempti 429

redemti 313

redft 423

redivit = -bit 318

refusare 17

re(g)alis 263

re(g)ina 259

regis = -es 244

regnante 267

regnum 172 (2)

Relatives: see Pronouns

reli(n)quat 306

relinque = -it 285

remasit 311

Remidium 272

remissa 37 (-ta)

renégat 139

renum = reg- 269

Repetition 40, 55, 74

replenus 23

repositorium 37

reprehensus 250

requærere 25, 139

requærit 139

requæbit 225

res 10, 71, 355 (2)

res nata 13, 71

respondere 399, 449

responduntur 449

responsi 429

restitueram 285

restivus 39

resurge(n)s 311

retenere 31, 139

retenet 139

retete = reddere 286

retina 17

retro 81

retro- 28

retro(r)sum 291

retundus 229 (6)

reuwardent 344

reve(r)sus 291

reversus sum = reverti 410

revolutio 37

rex 297, 429

rhetor 335

rhetorissare 33

richesse 341

rictu = rectum 198

- 399
 409
 re- 198
 98
 341
 86
 39
 a 341
 9
 41
 11, 324
 us = rip- 314
 verit 229 (2)
 m 347
 9, 347
 =-bo 318
 us 259, 435
 nce Territory: p. xi
 n Empire: p. x
 nice 40
 nu (nom.) 372
 8
 9
 = ros 356 (3)
 441
 1 36, 341, 398
 s 291
 e 36, 341, 398
 1 319
 da 356 (3)
 51
 um 291
 n 291
 34
 Sibilants
 l s in 1st pers. pl.
 45
 ial s + cons. 230
 ssy, sty, sy 275
 psa 392
 (-ta)
 tizare 19
 m 235
 376
 nentum 231
 ta -anis 359
 tano 359
 sacritus = *δικριτος* 272
 saeculum (masc.) 349
 saepes sepes saeps 209, 367
 saepia 182
 saginae 42
 Sagitta 37 (-ittus)
 sagma 19, 268; (fem.) 349
 Saguntum 338
 saïne 42
 saint 267
 salbatec 229 (3)
 salbum 317
 salii 422, 428
 salitus 436, 440
 salivi 428
 salma 268
 salsi 428, 429
 salsus 440, 441
 saltem 11
 salticulare 35
 salvage 229 (3)
 salvatico 229 (3)
 salvaticus 229 (3)
 sanctissimus 377
 san(c)tus 172 (1), 267
 sandal 330
 sanguem 370
 sanh 267
 sapcha 272
 sapere 402
 sapiam 272
 sapidus 39
 sapienti (pl.) 368
 sappia 272
 sapui 426, 428
 satis 74
 sauma 268
 scabia 355 (2)
 scena 182, 210
 scalciare = excalceare 230
 scandalizare 19
 scaplas 234
 Sca(u)rus 211 (1)
 scena 182
 schema 19
 schernire 341
 schiatta 343
 schietto 343
 schioppo 284
 sclitib. (stilis) 284
 scloppus 284
 scopulus 38
 scoriare = excor- 230
 scriba -anis 359
 script 312 (1)
 scripsi 315, 429
 scriptum 315
 scri(p)tus 313, 440
 scrivano 359
 scultor 313
 se = si 229 (4)
 se = s 419 (1)
 sead = sit 419 (2)
 sebe = sibi 201
 secatus 435, 440
 secula 200 (3)
 secu(n)do 306
 secuntur 254
 sed 11, 14
 sed = se 229 (4)
 sedano 335
 sed(e)cim 239
 sedere = esse 402, 419
 seditur 399
 sedui 428
 sedutus 441
 segnai = signavi 424
 segolo 200 (3)
 sei 419 (1)
 sel 160
 selinum 150
 sem 419 (1)
 Semelè 359
 semita 239
 semo 419 (1)
 semper semper 74
 sempre 245
 semul 201, 201 (2)
 senape 184
 senatus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 sene = sine 201
 senex 12
 senper 306
 senta = semita 239
 sentam 416
 sententem 416

senti 298
sentia 421
sentii 428, 429
sentitus 436, 441
sentor 37
separare *seperare* 231, 233
sepelitus 436, 440
sepes 209
sepia 146, 182
seppia 182
sepsies 277
septa (gi)nta 380
septe (m) 309
septrum 260
septuazinta 339
septum 209
sepulchrum 251
sequere 406
sequire 406
serbare 323
serbat 323
serbas 317
Serios = *Sergius* 272
serore = *so* - 229 (#) 6
serpentinus 37
serra = *sera* 247
serutinus 16
servare 323
servicium 276
servire 323
servisium 277
servitium 276, 277
servitudo 37
ses = *es* 419 (1)
šes 419 (1)
sest = *est* 419 (1)
set = *est* 419 (1)
set = *sed* 282
seta 209
setaceus 39
setis = *estis* 419 (1)
settembres 313
seus = *suus* 387
si 14, 83, 229 (4)
si = *sibi* 385
siam 419 (2)
siamus 419 (2)
sibe 219, 244

sibi 201, 219, 221, 244, 385
sibi 219, 244, 385
Sibilants 297-302, etc.
final s 298, 445
initial s + cons. 230
scy, *ssy*, *sty*, *sy*, 275
ss > s 161
z: see Greek Consonants
sic 264
Sicilianus 39
sidibus = *se* - 198
siede 419 (1)
siem 419 (2)
siete 419 (1)
siffatto 264
siffler 318 (2)
sifilus 318 (2)
signum -us 172 (2), 347
sigricius = *secretius* 256
silevit 422, 428
simus 220, 419 (1)
sinapis -e -i 38, 150, 184, 337
sinatus 228
sine 95, 201
sinexter 201 (3)
-sio 37
sirena 356 (3)
sis = *si* vis 324
sive 11
skëna 341
skërnôn 341
skiuhan 343
slahta 343
slëht 343
soaru 295
soave 224
sobreus 224
socera 37
soc(e)rum 232, 233
soef 224
sofferire 406
sol 13
solacium 276
sola mente 41
solatium 276
solbere 317

solbit 323
solia 224
soliculus 13, 18
sol(i)us 237
solingo 37 (-incus)
solo (dat.) 395
solsi 429
soltus 438, 439, 440
soluit 224
solus 395
solutus 438
solvitus 438, 439
soma 268
somos 419 (1)
sona = *zona* 338
sonatus 435
sons 419 (1)
sophia 146
-sor 37
sorcerus = *sortarius* 3
 (-arius)
sordidius 377
sorex 42, 213
soricem 42, 213
-sorium 37
-sorius 39
soro(r) 295
sous = *suus* 167, 387
sozer 154
spacium 276
spallere 337
spandere = *exp*- 230
Spania 230
Spanus 230
sparsi 429
sparsus 441
spasmus 144
spat(h)a 332
spat(u)la 12, 38, 234
specu = *spica* 200 (3)
speclarait = *-avit* 424
spectante = *exp*- 230
spëhon 343
spelunca 329
spene 355 (2)
speni from *spes* 355 (2)
speramus = *-avimus* 424
sperantia 37

spes 355 (2)
 spiritus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 splorator = exp- 230
 spoliatur = -or 244
 spo(n)sus 171
 spontaneus 39
squarciare 276
 ss > s 161
 staacio 276
 stablarius 231
 stagnum (masc.) 349
 stahu 397
 stals 397
 stait 397
 stantia = inst- 230
 stao 397
 stare 397
 stasio 277
 statio 277
 status 438
stati 397
 staunt 397
stegola 200 (3)
 stel(l)a 163
 Stephanus 183
 steti 426, 428, 430
stetti 426
 stetui 426, 428, 430
 steva 200 (3)
 stilla = stella 198
 stingo 226
 -stinxi 429
 stipes = stips 367
 stirpis (nom.) 367
 stlataris 284
 stils 284
 stloppus 284
 storax 187
 stren(n)a 163
 stren(n)uor 164
Stress: see Accent
 striban 341
 strictus 440
 strinctus 440
 strinxi 429
 strofa 334
 stropa 334
 stropus 186

strucere 417
 structus 440
 struere 417
 strugere 417
 strumentum = inst- 230
 struxi 429
 stupeocere 35
 stup(p)a 163
 suabitati 318
 suadel(l)a 42
 suavis 224
 Suavitta 37 (-ittus)
 sub- 26
 subaudire 26
 subcludere 26
 subcumbere 32
Subjunctive 117-9
 for Imper. 116
 for Indic. 117
 Imperfect 118
 Perfect 119, 410
 Plup. = Imperf. 118
 Pres. 397, 403, 405, 415,
 419 (2)
 sublimus 376
 submonsus 439, 441
 subornatrix 255
 subplantare 32
 subsannare 26
Substitution of Words 13
 subterraneus 42
 subtus 81
 suc(c)us 163
suceroni 362
 sud = sub 315
 sufferit 406
 suffertus 435, 440
Suffixes 33-42
 Change of Suffix 42
 for Adj. 39
 for Adv. 40, 41
 for Nouns 37, 38
 for Verbs 33-6
 Greek Endings 36, 38
 suis (nom.) 367
 sulphurem 347, 369
 sumpsi 208
 sumptus 308

sumus 220, 419 (1)
suora 295
 suos 138
 super 80, 90, 96
 super- 26
 superabundare 26
 superfacere 26
 superstitis (nom.) 367
Supine 103
 sup(p)ra 164
 sup(p)remis 164
 supra- 26
 suprafacere 26
 supre 245
 -sura 37
Surd > Sonant: see Voice
 ing
 sursi 429
 su(r)sum 291
 surtus 440
 sus = suus 226, 388
 -sus 37, 441
 sus(s)um 291
 sutis 419 (1)
 suus 60, 387-8
 sy = ty 277
 sycotum 141
Syllabication 131-3
 symphonia 146, 332
Syncope 219, 229, 231-9
Synonyms 12
Syntax 50-130

 t: see Dentals
 ty 276-7
 -ta 37
 tab(u)la 236
 tactus 440
 talentum 149, 330
 talis 71
 tamen 11, 14, 84
 tan 306
 tancetus 440
 tanger(e) 242
 tantu(m) 309
 tantus 71
 tanxi 429
 tapinus 144

tapis 182
tapit 182
 tap(p)ete 162
 tarde 40
tarir 342, 407
 -tas 37
tasso 342, 343
 tata 16; -anis 359
 Tattius 277
 tatus 16
 taula 236, 318
 taurellus 37
 taxi 429
 telebra = ter- 292
tempaccio 39
 tempesta 356 (3)
 templus 347
tempo 298
 tempus 13
 tenit 244
 ten(n)uis 164
 Tense 120-30
 tensi 429
 tensura 13
 tensus 441
 ténueram 137
 tenui 428
 tenutus 438, 440
 Teodor 332
 -ter 40
 tercius 276
 Terentio = -us 298
 tergère 399
 tergum -us 347
 termen 356 (3)
 terminaciones 276
 terra (m) 309
 tersi 429
 tersus 441
 -*ters* 38
 testa 13
 tetrus 376
 texui 428
 textutus 440
 thahso 342, 343
 tharrjan 342, 407
 theios 333
 thensaurus 311

Theophilus 333
 thesaurizare 19
 thesaurus -um 189, 347
 thrēscan 342
 ti = tibi 385
 -tiacum 277
 tibe 244
 tibi 221, 244, 385
 -tim 40
timbre 187, 331
 timor (fem.) 346 (2)
 timoratus 39
impuri 369
 tinctus 440
 tingo 226
 tinguer 226
 tins < census 260
 tinxi 429
 -tio 37
 Titius 277
Tivoli 86
 toll(e)re 239
 tollitus 435, 439
 tolsi 428, 429
 tolui 428
 tomolus = tumu- 208
 tonatus 435
 tondère 399
 tonica = tu- 208
 tonsus 441
 -tor 37
 torcère 399
 torco 226, 399
 toreomatum 191
 -torium 37
 -torius 39
 torna = tu- 208
 tornus 186
 torqu(e)o 226, 399
 torsi 428
 tortus 440
 tot 71
tot 204 (2)
 toto (dat.) 395
 tot(t)us 12, 71, 163, 204 (2),
 395
 totum (adv.) 74
 tous = tuus 387

tra- 26, 299
 trabucare 26
 tracere 417
 tractatus 9
 tractus 440
 tradedit 31, 139
traducir 299
traduire 299
 Tragani = Traj- 259
 tragere 417
 trahere 417
 trans- 26, 299
 transannare 26
 tra(ns)duco 299
 tra(ns)jicio 299
 tra(ns)luceo 299
 tra(ns)mitto 299
 transplantare 26
 tra(ns)pono 299
 tra(ns)tulo 299
 tra(ns)veho 299
 traps 315
trasporre 299
 travis (nom.) 367
 traxi 429
 trebus 201
 trei = tres 379
trei 298
treis 177
 tremulat 235
 trepaliare 33
 trepalium 16
 tres 379
trescar 342
 trib(u)la 235, 352
 tribuna(l) 242, 289
 Tricasses 151
 trienta 259
 tri(g)inta 142, 259, 380
 trinitas 37
 trinta 380
 tris = tres 198
 tristus 376
 triumphaut 241, 325, 424
 -trix 37
trobaire 37 (-tor)
 Troge = -jæ 259
 Troja 170

Troyes 151
 tructa 38, 185
 trutina 187
 tu 60
 tucti 204 (2)
 -tudo 37
tuit 204 (2)
 tulērunt 450
 -tulus > -clius 234
 tum = tuum 226, 388
 tumum 187
 tuos 138
 -tura 37
 turrensis 39
 turri -e 364
 -tus 37 (-ta), 440
 Tuscanus 39
tutto 204 (2)
 tuttus 204 (2)
 tuus 226, 387-8
 ty 276-7
 ty > cy 277
 ty > sy 277

u 165, 206-8, etc.
 accented 206-8
 ū 206-7
 ū > u 165, 206
 ū 208
 ū > u > q 165, 208
 u cons. 222, 326
 ū 178, 187, 192, 206, 220
 ul 216
 unaccented 219, 228,
 229 (5), 243, 244
 in hiatus 222-6
 uo > o 226
 uu > u 226
 uō > o 225
 uu > u 226
 ubi 73
 -uc(c)us 37 (-icca)
 -uculare 35
 -uculus 42
 -udo > -umen 42
 ū 178, 187, 192, 206, 220
 -ugo 37 (-ago)
 ul 216

-ula 37 (-ulus)
 Ulixes 187
 ultra 166
 -ulus 37, 39
 > -ellus 42
 -um 40
 Unaccented Vowels: see
 Vowels
 unde 10, 70, 73, 84, 393
 undecim 166, 379
 -undus 39
 ungo 226
 unguere 226
 unicornis 44
 unigenitus 44
 unire 34
 uno (dat.) 429
 -unt = -ent 449
 unus 10, 57, 71, 298, 378, 395
 unu(s) 298
 unxi 429
 uō > o 225
 uo unacc. > o 226
 uobit = obiit 177
 -ura 37, 42
 Uranus 193
 urbis (nom.) 367
 urbs 12, 297, 315, 367
 -ūrem 346 (3)
 urps 297, 315
 usare 34
 Use of Cases 85-100
 Use of Inflections 85-130
 Use of Words 54-84
 usque hodie 47
 ustium 202
 ut 11, 14, 82, 111
 -uta 37 (-ta)
 utrum 11, 14, 83
 -utus 39, 42, 438, 440, 441
 uu unacc. > u 226
 uuadius 344
 -uus > -itus 42
 uxo(r) 295
 uxore (abl.) 244

v: see Labials
 vacuus 42 195 (6), 223

vadere 126 (5), 405
 vadum 344; -us 347
 valde 237
 valia(t) 224, 285
 Valinca 37 (-incus)
 vallensis 39
 valneas = ba- 316
 vanitare 34
 vaqua = vacua 223
 vaqui = vacui 223
 vastare 344
 vasus -um 347, 356 (3)
 vea = via 201
 vecere = veh- 417
 vecinus 229 (4)
 veculus 234, 284
vedea 421
veðere 283
vef 226
 vegere = veh- 417
 ve(he)mens 250
 vehere 417
 vel 11
 velle 126 (3), 403
 vendita 37 (-ta)
 vendutus 438
 vene = bene 316
 veni 428, 430
 veninum 42
 venire 126 (5)
 venitus 436, 438, 440
 venui 428, 430
 venuta 37 (-ta)
 venutus 436, 438, 440
 ver 13
 verbex = verrex 323

Verb Forms
 Inflection: see Conju-
 gation
 Use 72, 101-30
 Verbs: see Verb Forms
 verbus 347, 349
 verecundia 231
 verecunus 281
 vernac(u)lus 234
 vernum tempus 13
 ve(r)sus 291
 vertragus 19

verrex 323
 ves(s)ica 162
 vestibat 420
 vetatus 435
 vet(e)ranus 219, 231
vettovaglia 154
 vetulus 12, 13, 234, 284
 vetus 13
 veyo = video 272-3
vezem 445
vezzo 278
 -vi = -vui 428
 via 167, 201
 viaticum 8, 239
 vibi = bibi 318
 vibit = bibit 316
 victore (nom.) 367
 victualia 18, 37
 victurias 203
 vic(u)lus 234, 284
 viderunt 426
 video 272-3, 416
 videre 72, 272-3, 283, 416,
 428, 430, 438, 441
 videunt 416
 vidi 428, 430
 vido = video 416
 vidui = vidi 428, 430
 vidutus 438, 441
 viduus 226
veni 177
 vig(i)lat 259
 vi(gi)nti 142, 259, 380
 vilescere 34
 villa 10, 12, 358
 villabus 358
 Vincentzus 277
 vincisti 426
 vinctus 440
 vinctui 428
 vinctus 440
 vindemiator 224
 vindico 239
 vindimia 197
 vindo = ve- 197
 vinia = -ea 224
 vinsi 428, 429
 vinti 380

vinus 347
 virginem 233
 vir(i)diaria 237
 vir(i)dis 237
 vir(i)dura 18, 37
 viror 37
 virtus 10
 viscui = vixi 428, 429
 visit = vixit 255; cf. 285, 428
 vistus 441
 visus 441
 vitellus 37
 vitium 278
 vitricus 13
 vit(u)lus 234
 vius = vivus 324
 vivacius 377
 vixcit = vixit 255; cf. 285,
 428
 vixi 255, 285, 428, 429
 vixit(t) 285; cf. 255, 428
 vixutus 440
 vobis 385; cf. 318
Vocabulary 6-49
 vocatio = vac- 195 (6)
Vocative 87
 vocitus = vacuus 42, 195 (6)
 vocitus = vocatus 435, 439
 vocuus = vac- 195 (6)
Voice 112-4
Voicing 256-7, 286, 297,
 314, 321
 volatilia 37
 volemus 403 (2)
 volere = velle 403 (2)
 voles 403 (2)
 volestis 403 (2)
 volimus 403 (2)
volon 39 (-undus)
 volsi 429
 voltus 438, 439, 440
 voluntate (nom.) 367
 volutus 438
 volvitus 438, 439
 voster 199 (1), 387
 vovis = vobis 318; cf. 385
Vowels 136-8, 165-245
Accented 194-218

Clerical Pronun. 218
Diphthongs 209-16
Influence of Labials
 217
Single Vowels 194-
 208
 before gn 172 (2)
 before j 170
 before n + fricative 171
 before nk 172 (1)
Breaking 177
Celtic Vowels 179
Close and Open 165
Differentiation 165
German Vowels 179
Greek Vowels 180-93
 in hiatus 136-8, 167-9
 in words borrowed by
 other languages 174-5
Latin Vowels 178
Position 160-4
Quantity 165-77, 221
Unaccented 219-45
Final Syl. 240-5
 in hiatus 222-7
Init. Syl. 228-30
Intert. Syl. 231
Penult 232-9
Quantity 221
Vulgar Latin 3, 4
Vulgar Words 15, 19
 vulnus (masc.) 349

w (Ger.) 344
w (Latin) 224
 Waddo 344
 wadum 344
 wahta 343
 walde 344
 Wandali 344
 warjan 344
 warnjan 36, 407
 wastare 344
 watan 19, 344
 werra 19, 344
 werrarius 39
 werrizare 33
 wiðarlön 342

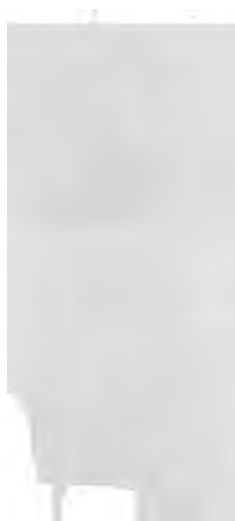
Wintrio 344
 wisa 344
 witan 36, 398
 Word Order 50-3
 wost- 344

 x 246, 255, 266

 y (Greek) 187
 y (Latin) 224
 ymaus 251

z 246
 zabal(l)us = dia- 339
 zacones = dia- 339
 zaconus = dia- 272, 339
sagante 229 (3)
sampogna 332
 zanuari = ja- 339
 zebus = die- 339
 Zefurus 187
 zelosus 339
 zerax = hierax 339

zes = dies 272
 Zesu = Jesu 272, 339
 zeta = diæta 339
 zie = die 272
sins 260
sio 333
 ziziper 312 (1)
 Zodorus = Theo- 277
 Zogenes = Dio- 272
 zosum = deorsum 339
 Zouleia = Julia 272, 339



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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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